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THE SWEDISH CHURCH ON THE DELAWARE

CONRAD J. I. BERGENDOFF

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In his equally delightful and informative book, *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware*, Christopher Ward suggests that American history might have turned out differently if stormy weather had not driven the *Mayflower* off its course and thus landed the Pilgrims north of Cape Cod instead of in Delaware Bay. "Speculations," Ward writes, "as to the effect of a kindlier climate, a more generous soil, upon the character of the English immigrants, of the Puritans, who followed them, and of their descendants—could lead to divers conclusions. One thing is certain however; if the Pilgrim Fathers had spent that first winter in Delaware Bay, they would have had a better time."¹

We may add to this one certainty, another—there would not this year be a Tercentenary of the coming of the Swedish colony to the Delaware. In 1638 there was at least some foundation for the belief of the Swedish chancellery that no one but Indians had good claim to the west bank of the Delaware. So Peter Minuit represented the situation to the great chancellor, Gustavus Adolphus' real successor, Axel Oxenstjerna, in 1636. And Minuit should have known, for he had been the governor of the Dutch West India Company's colony in New Amsterdam from 1626-1632. But it soon developed that Minuit's interpretation of unclaimed territory on the Atlantic seaboard did not agree with that of the West India Company, nor of their efficient governor in New Amsterdam, Peter Stuyvesant. The result was that from the first the Swedish settlement, which Minuit effected in March, 1638, was opposed by the Dutch. The political story of the Swedes on the Delaware is, consequently, not a long tale. In September, 1655, Stuyvesant raised the Dutch flag over Fort Christina, where the Swedish colors had flown for seventeen years. The Swedes

¹ Christopher Ward, *The Dutch and the Swedes on the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1930), 32.

were permitted to stay on under the new régime. Even this was temporary. Maryland had laid claim up to the fortieth parallel, New England stretched her claims down to the thirty-eighth parallel. Stuyvesant's question to Winthrop, "Where then lies New Netherland?"² received the very practical answer which the Duke of York gave—it did not continue to lie anywhere. From Dutch control the Swedish settlements passed in 1664 into English ownership. In 1682 they became a part of Penn's domain. There the political story ends, except as we consider the increasing part these Swedish landowners played in the development of colonial Pennsylvania.

Yet, were we to retell the events of the half century from the death of Gustavus Adolphus to the coming of Penn to the Delaware it would be a long story, with a rich background of detail from the Old World. It would bring before us again the figure of Willem Usselinx, the inspiration of both the Dutch West India Company and the South Company in Sweden. We would catch a glimpse of the grandiose plans of Gustavus to include exploratory trade colonies in his dream of Sweden as a dominant European power, a dream cut short by the king's death at Lützen. The close alliance between the Dutch and the Swedes in the Thirty Years' War, the fear of the States-General to incur the displeasure of Sweden by any untoward act on the far-away Delaware, the internal conditions of Sweden and the character of immigrants to America, the unpredictable element of storm-broken communications, the political effect of the interregnum and consequent accession of Christina and her character—all of these elements would be reflected in the small, struggling, settlements on the western shores of Delaware around what are now Wilmington and Philadelphia. And after 1655, when the Swedish governor, Rising, had departed, leaving the settlements to the Dutch, there would be the record of how the valleys of the Delaware and the Hudson became neither extensions of Virginia and Maryland, nor of Massachusetts and Connecticut, but instead a region later to be known as the Middle Colonies. The Duke of York gave his name to one center, the Quaker Penn to another, and the story merges into that which gradually ends, in one of its parts, at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. In those later phases the Swedish contribu-

² Ward, *op. cit.*, 378.

tion is not very apparent, but when we reflect that Penn bought the land on which Philadelphia stands from the Swedes, and that descendants of those early Swedes took important parts in the Constitutional Convention, we may pause to consider what became of the colony after 1655. Though the political chapter ended so abruptly, the cultural, the social, the religious chapters were yet to be written. And since the last of these subjects has received so little attention in comparison with the others, this paper will deal especially with the Swedish church on the Delaware.

In 1693—fifty-five years after Peter Minuit had brought the first expedition and thirty-eight years after the loss of the colony to the Dutch—a letter reached the king of Sweden from the Delaware which had a great influence on the future of the colonists, even as it reveals much of what their state had been up to this time. The Delaware Swedes had before this tried to reach the ear of authorities in Sweden, but letters had gone amiss. It was a nephew of the most famous of the Swedish governors on the Delaware, Governor Printz, who almost accidentally established a line of communication between Pennsylvania and Stockholm. He had been in America, and while in Stockholm met John Thelin, postmaster of Gothenburg, to whom he related the plight of his fellow-countrymen on the Delaware. Thelin was so impressed that he brought the account to the attention of King Charles XI, who immediately asked for further details. Thelin wrote to the colony, and from the reply he received we quote as follows:

It is further his Royal Majesty's desire to know how we are and have been treated in this country—we therefore acknowledge and truly declare that both by the Hollanders, and under his Royal Majesty of England, our most gracious King, we have been well treated. For the Swedes have been faithful to them in thought and deed, as they still are to this day; and we have thus always had a good and gracious government, and we live with each other in mutual confidence and unity.

Now, as regards our general conditions in this country, we are almost universally farmers, who plow and sow and practise agriculture, and live according to the laudable old Swedish customs in meat and drink. This country is also a very rich and fertile land in all kinds of grain, so that, God be praised, it bears richly and abundantly whatever we sow and plant in it, so that we have plentifully our support in meat and drink, and it has every year sent out through this river to most parts of the adjacent islands both flour, grain, bread, and beer. There is here also a great abun-

dance of all kinds of wild animals, birds, and fish. Our wives and daughters also busy themselves much in spinning both wool and flax, many also with weaving, so that we have great reason to thank Almighty God for the support of our daily life. God grant that we may also obtain faithful Pastors and watchmen for our souls, who may also feed us with that spiritual food, which is the preaching of God's Word, and the administration of the Holy Sacraments in their proper form.

We live in great amity with the Indians, who have not done us any harm for many years. It has also been told you, as your letter informs us, that sons of the Swedish minister perform divine service in the Swedish church. But that is not so, for in this³ congregation we had a Swedish clergyman, whose name was Laurentius Caroli Lockenius, who came to the country in Governor Printz's time, and within five years past, in the coming September, fell asleep in the Lord. And in the other Swedish congregation, also, we had a clergyman, M. Jacobus Fabritius by name, who is a German, and preaches for us in the German (Holland) language. Him we have had now about sixteen years. He is also an admirable preacher, but, God's blessing on him, he is so aged, and has lost his sight for so long a time; yet he is one who has taught us God's pure and true word, and administered the Holy Sacraments among us. As to the other congregation, they assist themselves with a lay-reader, who is a Swede, born in Stockholm, who performs Divine service with hymns and prayers, and by reading sermons out of a Swedish Postilla. As for a Finnish minister, we have never had, nor do we need one, for we all in common understand Swedish.⁴

The letter contains a petition that two ministers might be sent, "who are well learned and well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and who may well defend both themselves and us against all the false teachers and strange sects by whom we are surrounded." Also the settlers request "twelve Bibles, three copies of Sermons, forty-two Manuals, one hundred Handbooks and Spiritual Meditations, two hundred Catechisms, two hundred A B C books." For both the books and the support of the ministers the promise is made to pay according to what is demanded and the petitioners are able to do.

With the letter went an "exact list and roll of all men, women, and children which are found and still live in New Sweden, now called Pennsylvania, on the Delaware river." The total number was 188 Swedish families, or 942 persons. Of these 39 had been born in Sweden, and two, Peter Rambo and Anders Bonde, had been in America fifty-four years. In the

³ Reynolds, incorrectly, has "that."

⁴ Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden or, The Settlements on the River Delaware* (Stockholm, 1759). Trans. by W. M. Reynolds. Published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874. pp. 186-189.

list were the names of some Hollanders who had become a part of the colony, probably in most cases by intermarriage.

This was in 1693. In 1655, when the colony ceased to belong to Sweden, it counted about two hundred souls,⁵ the results of the vicissitudes of the ten expeditions from Sweden which had reached New Sweden between 1638-1655. Now, in 1693, there were close to one thousand souls, including such as had become members of the 188 households. The letter pictures a people agricultural in their economy, living at peace with their neighbors, the Indians, and their conquerors, the Dutch, as well as the new owners, the English. They were fairly comfortable in their holdings, and had no other intention than to live their lives in these regions. Yet they retained their loyalty to Sweden, and for their religious nurture turned, as if by nature, to a church which most of them knew only by tradition. A handful of them had been born in Sweden and had memories of its churches. The rest knew of their ancestors' worship through the congregations which had become established during the past half century on the Delaware.

The letter of 1693 refers to three congregations. One of these was at Christina, the earliest settlement. During the years of Swedish rule this congregation had worshipped in the fort.⁶ In 1667 a small wooden structure was erected a couple of miles from the fort, where the Dutch joined to some extent in the services. "The Hollanders," Acrelius says, "had no Minister, nor did they, during their whole time, build a single church." The second group met at Tinicum Island. This had been the headquarters of Governor Printz between 1643-1653, and had been the show-place of the Delaware. "His place of residence, which he adorned with orchards, gardens, a pleasure-house, etc., he named Printz Hall. A handsome wooden church was also built at the same place, which Magister Campanius consecrated—on the fourth of September, 1646. Upon that place also all the most prominent free-men had their residences and plantations."⁷ The third place of worship was Wicaco, a couple of miles north of Tinicum Island on the shores of the Delaware. Here had stood a block-

⁵ Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664*, 2 vols. (Univ. of Penna., 1911), I, 344; cf. II, Appendix B.

⁶ Acrelius, *A History*, 176. Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, 206, believes a small church was erected near the fort even before 1643.

⁷ Acrelius, *A History*, 43.

house, which after 1677 was used, alternately with the Tinicum Island building, as a church. Acrelius describes the relationship between the fort and the church thus:

A blockhouse answered the purpose very well, for the churches generally were of the same material. The Indians were not always to be depended upon that they would not make an incursion, fall upon the Christians, and capture the whole flock. It was, therefore, necessary for them to have their religious houses as a place of defence for the body as well as for the soul. The churches were so built that, after a suitable elevation, like any other house, a projection was made some courses higher, out of which they could shoot, so that if the heathen fell upon them, which could not be done without their coming up to the house, then the Swedes could shoot down upon them continually, and the heathen, who used only bows and arrows, could do them little or no injury. (Quotations from Rudman's Ms.)⁸

Two wooden churches and a block-house were thus the gathering points for the religious activities from 1638 to 1693. What of the clergy? The list for the period is not long. Reorus Torkillus, a clergyman, accompanied the second expedition in 1639, and died in the colony four years later.⁹ Johan Campanius came with Printz in 1643. He labored faithfully until 1648, when he returned to Sweden. Campanius not only led the services, but visited the scattered plantations. "Without any regard to the weather," he wrote his archbishop, "I am obliged to go from one place to the other to visit the settlers with the Word and the Sacrament."¹⁰ The services were the regular high mass of the home church, conducted with dignity and formality. We can detect a note of pride in Printz' communication to the Swedish chancellery, that "our priest is vested with a chasuble and differs in all manners from the other sects surrounding us."¹¹ The effect on the Indians was somewhat difficult, if we may believe Campanius' grandson, who wrote long afterwards. "The Indians were frequent visitors at my grandfather's house. When, for the first time, he performed divine service in the Swedish congregation, they came to hear him, and greatly wondered that he had so much to say, and that he stood alone, and talked so long, while all the rest were listening in silence. This excited in them strange suspicions; they thought everything was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward amongst us; in consequence

⁸ *Ibid.*, 176-7.

⁹ Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements*, I, 127, Note 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 372.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 367.

of which my grandfather's life and that of the other priests were, for some time, in considerable danger from the Indians who daily came to him and asked him many questions."¹² Campanius took a serious interest in the Indians, learned their language and translated Luther's *Catechism* into their dialect. For this reason, Campanius can be said to antedate John Eliot, who gained the title of the morning star of missionary enterprise, though Campanius' *Catechism* was not printed until the time of the letter of the colonists to the Swedish officials, in the last decade of the century. Then Charles XI had it printed, in 1696, and sent over to the Delaware five hundred copies.

Other clergy came and went in the colony during the governorships of Printz and Rising, only one, Lars Karlsson Lock, staying on after the Dutch conquest. Lock arrived in 1647 and ministered until his death in 1688. In his early years he had both domestic and civil difficulties, but seems to have adjusted himself, and for decades was the sole pastor of the scattered colonists. Lameness made him ineffective in his last years, wherefore the churches obtained a Dutch Lutheran from New York to assist him and serve them. This was the Jacob Fabritius to whom the letter of 1693 made reference; it stated that he had been among the colonists for seventeen years, since 1677, but was now old and blind. It was indeed time that something be done if the church life in the settlements were not gradually to disappear. "All the church service they now had was that an old man, Anders Bengtson by name, sat and read out of Möller's Postilla in Tenakong Church; but at Tranhook, Charles Springer was the reader. The people were not very anxious to hear these things. The youth who came were fonder of riding races than of attending Divine Service. There was no order, no reverence among the people. It was time for God to help them, for all human help had failed."¹³

A new day dawned for the Delaware congregations as the condition of the settlers became of concern to the Swedish king. Charles XI enjoined the archbishop and consistory of Upsala to care for the religious needs of the colony by sending them the clergymen and books which they had requested. In the consistory was one member who later became bishop of Skara, and

¹² Thos. Campanius Holm, *A Description of the Province of New Sweden*, tr. Dr. Ponceau, 75-6.

¹³ Arelius, *A History*, 181.

who for the next three decades was the special guardian of the Swedish church on the Delaware, namely Jesper Svedberg,¹⁴ father of the famous Emanuel Swedenborg, but himself no less famous in the history of Sweden's church. At midsummer time, 1697, three clergymen arrived in the colony with royal commissions and gifts. They were Andrew Rudman, Eric Bjork, and Jonas Auren. Through the interest and favor of the highest authorities in Sweden and these pastors, the congregations in Pennsylvania were saved and entered on a new day of enduring activity.

For the next seventy-five years the Church of Sweden maintained very close relationships with the American mission. In general, the men who were sent were of a high grade, both spiritually and mentally. In some cases they were of an extraordinary calibre. Between 1696 and the close of the mission at the Revolution, Sweden sent twenty-four clergymen, whose work can here only be summarized, before we go on to describe the process by which these Swedish Lutheran congregations became Anglican and American.

Rudman and Bjork set about first of all to build new homes for the worship of their congregations. In 1699 the Holy Trinity Church of Christina, now Wilmington, was ready. Of this building Tiffany, the historian of the Episcopal church in America, has said that "it is the second oldest church edifice in the country and is the oldest church in which continuous religious services have been conducted from its foundation to the present time."¹⁵ The following year a new church was dedicated in Philadelphia, on the site of the old Wicaco, and given its present name, *Gloria Dei*. But buildings were not the only concern. The more difficult task of inner reconstruction of the life of the people as members of a closely knit Lutheran congregation was of major importance. Services of worship were carefully and regularly conducted. Rudman's schedule, after the completion of the church, called for morning prayer at eight A. M., when prayer, reading, and explanation of two chapters from the Bible, and a closing hymn, were the

14 Svedberg is the author of a Ms. work, *Svecia Nova seu America Illuminata*, 1727, which contains material from Holm, letters from and to Sweden in re the Delaware colony and original reflections of the author. An abridgment of this work was printed as *America Illuminata* (Skara, 1732).

15 C. C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (American Church History Series), 220-221.

program. Then followed a matin service, whose chief content was catechetical instruction and examination, which, the pastor believed, was of more avail than twenty fiery sermons.¹⁶ After this came baptisms, then a preparatory sermon for communion, followed by the full high mass with communion. Around two or three P. M. the service was over.

Nor could these missionaries limit their work to one parish. The settlers had gradually spread in various directions, north, west, and east. Eastward, across the Delaware, in Jersey, two new parishes developed, Racoon and Pennsneck. Here new churches were built, in Racoon in 1704, and in Pennsneck in 1717. For this field the Swedish authorities also commissioned pastors. North and west of Wicaco and Christina, settlers called for worship services in Kingsessing and Upper Merion. After 1765, these places formed independent parishes, those of St. James Church and Christ Church. Besides extension of the field in this manner, there grew ever more difficult the question of language and the extension of the church by means of services in both English and Swedish.¹⁷ It became necessary for all these pastors to preach in both languages. Then, too, there was a call to minister to fellow Lutherans of the German immigration, who were leaderless until the coming of Mühlenberg in 1742. The Rev. John Dylander¹⁸ may have been more energetic than most, but Acrelius' paragraph on his ministry gives an indication of what demands were placed on the Swedish preachers. "For more than a year he held morning service (at eight o'clock) in German, High Mass in Swedish, and Vespers in English, in the church at Wicaco. At that time the Germans were not supplied with any Minister, although they were pressing into the country in great numbers. So, as Mr. Dylander was well versed in their language, he was able to comply with their request that he would preach for them. He also frequently supplied those who resided in Lancaster with Divine service. He did the same in Germantown, where he consecrated a stone church built by the Germans in the year 1730. No less satisfaction was found by the English—He

16 O. Norberg, *Svenska Kyrkans Mission vid Delaware*, 21.

17 Thos. Campanius Holm quotes from a letter by Pastor Rudman, in 1697, to the effect that there were then 1200 people who spoke Swedish, and that in this region one could hear it "as pure as anywhere in Sweden." *Description of The Province of New Sweden*, 102.

18 Pastor at Wicaco, 1737-1741.

also sometimes preached for them, also, to their entire satisfaction in their State Church."¹⁹

But preaching was only one element in the building up of the congregations. Dylander complained to his archbishop in 1738 that these people in America were a "peculiar sort. If one does not frequently visit them in their homes, on other occasions than official—which they do not consider as visits—then they are cool in their attitude. One has to exercise uncommon caution with them and like children they have to be coaxed by all sorts of ingenious devices, for they cannot be controlled through any other discipline than that to which they are pleased to subject themselves."²⁰ Sandel and Hesselius, who succeeded Rudman and Bjork, exercised discipline through the councils and placed the finances in the hands of church wardens. They and their successors laid great emphasis on Christian education, even bringing over school-teachers from Sweden, one of them a son of Bishop Svedberg. The congregations were, as in Sweden, divided into *rotar*, or districts, and in each the pastor held examinations of his people in the elements of the Christian religion. Through these intensive labors the congregations were united in body and spirit. Undoubtedly this explains the resistance of these congregations to the efforts of Whitefield and later Count Zinzendorf to win these people for other types of church life.²¹ There were bitter controversies with these movements, but in the decade in which Acrelius wrote (the 1750's) the Swedish congregations were in their healthiest condition. About 1760 the communicants numbered about three thousand, including such as by intermarriage or union with the churches had come to be members of the Swedish congregations.²² Regular services, religious education, suitable sanctuaries, a dignified ministry, a considerable measure of discipline, were characteristics of the congregations, among whose members were many leading citizens in the community and the commonwealth. The churches were friendly with the Anglican communion, their pastors even receiving recognition by the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Also with the growing German

19 Acrelius, *A History*, 237. The only sour note was the complaint of the Anglican clergy that the greatest number of marriage fees went to Wicaco.

20 Norberg, *Svenska Mission*, 49.

21 *Ibid.*, 36.

22 *Ibid.*, 149.

Lutheran Church they were in accord, Acrelius, the Provost of the Swedish churches, being honored on official occasions of the German church as presiding officer,²³ and Wrangel, his successor, being highly thought of and admired by Mühlenberg.²⁴ All the time, too, the Swedish church watched over the mission solicitously. Some of the commissions for the pastors were signed by Charles XII on his campaigns in Russia and Turkey. The death of Bishop Svedberg, in 1735, deprived the colonists of their best and most understanding friend in Sweden, but the archbishop and consistory of Upsala continued to consider the mission as a child of their church.

Yet with all the diligent care which faithful Swedish clergy gave to the Wilmington, Philadelphia, and Jersey churches, few foresaw a permanent connection with the church in Sweden. Swedish as a language in social life had lost its hold even before the renaissance of Rudman and Bjork. In vain the Swedish preachers sought to keep it as a language of worship. By the time that Nicholas Collin began, in 1770, what was destined to be the final ministry commissioned by Sweden, Swedish had disappeared from Pennsneck, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion, was used in Christina only on festive occasions two or three times a year, and in Wicaco only when Swedish visitors were present.²⁵ Swedish folk beyond the pale of the established congregations, such as those at Pennypack and Manathanus, united with others to form Anglican congregations, portending the fate of the older groups. Needless to say, the disappearance of the language was a result of the dissolution of practically all ties with Sweden except that represented by the Swedish ministry. In Sweden, too, interest was waning. In 1775 the king, Gustavus III, proposed that some of the privileges of the mission be discontinued, to which proposal one of the Delaware pastors, who had returned to Sweden in 1774, replied that in good conscience he could not recommend that in its greater poverty the Swedish people should subsidize a people daily growing in prosperity.²⁶ Sweden had for decades been paying the travelling expenses of the regular pastors and salaries of supervisors and assistants, and been generous in

²³ Acrelius, *A History*, 312-313.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 346-348.

²⁵ Norberg, *Svenska Mission*, 202.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 194 ff.

promotion and pensions for returned clergy. It has been estimated that despite her exhaustion, first from the Thirty Years' War and then the wars of Charles XII, Sweden expended anywhere from \$100,000.00 to \$200,000.00 on the Delaware mission. Sweden was not niggardly, therefore, when Gustavus III in May, 1775, decided that the expenses should be reduced. Even then the decision did not go into immediate effect, for Collin was still to receive provost's salary and the other ministers in America their travelling expenses home. The move was, however, a severe blow for the Delaware churches, then on the eve of the Revolution. In 1786, Collin transferred from the Jersey congregations of Racoon and Pennsneck and his place was taken by a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1791, Lars Girelius left Christina, and the connection of that church with Sweden ended. Collin lived until 1831—the last of the ministers commissioned in Sweden.

But long before Collin's death, the Delaware Swedish mission had ceased to exist. In 1786 the vestry of Wicaco had resolved: "Whereupon the vestry do agree to receive the Reverend Mr. Collin as their minister; but at the same time reserving to themselves the right of making any new appointment hereafter, as shall be found more useful and beneficial to the said congregations of Wicaco, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion. And the wardens of Wicaco Church are authorised and required to write to the archbishop of Upsala, to desire him to thank his majesty of Sweden, in the name of the congregations, for his care and attention towards them heretofore, and in the present instance. But as the said congregations will be better suited (the Swedish language being extinct) by the appointment of some suitable minister from this side the water, and as the Reverend Mr. Collin has expressed a desire of returning to his native country shortly; whenever his majesty of Sweden shall think it proper and convenient to grant him his recall, the mission to these congregations will undoubtedly cease."²⁷ In the following year the charter of these congregations was amended, and made to include a provision that future rectors "and other ministers shall be in the ministry of the Lutheran or Episcopal Churches, and hold their faith in the doctrine of the same."²⁸ The last official communication from

27 J. C. Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, 3rd ed., 108-109.

28 *Ibid.*, 143.

the Church of Sweden was Archbishop Uno von Troil's permission for the two Swedish ministers in the mission in 1789 to return to the home country.²⁹ Collin, despite his homesickness, could not make up his mind to leave. Collin's *Journal*³⁰ has lately been translated and published. It reveals his many interests—religious, scientific, inventive, botanical, political, philanthropic. He was a friend of Franklin, a correspondent and associate of Thomas Jefferson, a member and officer of the American Philosophical Society. Altogether his was a worthy conclusion to the long list of Swedish clergymen who had labored for the cultural and spiritual welfare of the Delaware congregations during a period of almost two hundred years.

In Longfellow's *Evangeline* is a passage recalling the long gone days in Philadelphia.

Then, as she mounted the stairs to the corridors, cooled by the east-wind,
Distant and soft on her ear fell the chimes from the belfry of Christ Church,
While, intermingled with these, across the meadows were wafted
Sounds of psalms, that were sung by the Swedes in their church at Wicaco.

The Swedish psalms no longer are heard at Wicaco, and the members of that congregation now belong to the same communion as Christ Church, but to the listening ear may yet come an echo of an ancient ministry in primitive New Sweden, a ministry of which one writer says, "There is not upon record a more remarkable instance of disinterested care for its expatriated citizens than that of the Swedish Government for these obscure members of its race, no longer bound to it by any political ties, and separated from it by the wide expanse of the stormy Atlantic."³¹ Another writer, a Swedish historian, has pointed out that "neither trade nor statesmanship nor even military power could preserve the ties between colony and homeland which the Swedish language and Swedish worship did

29 Letter in Collin's "A Brief Account of the Swedish Mission," (*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 16), 355-356.

30 Amandus Johnson, *The Journal and Biography of Nicholas Collin* (Philadelphia, 1936). Published by the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania.

31 W. M. Reynolds, in Introduction, XIX, to his translation of *A History of New Sweden*, by Israel Acrelius.

maintain."³² The present tercentenary observes the memory of a unique mission of the Church of Sweden on the shores of the Delaware and in American history.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In 1874, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania issued, as Vol. XI of the *Memoirs of the Society*, W. M. Reynold's translation of the chief literary monument of the Delaware Mission, *A History of New Sweden, or The Settlements on the River Delaware*, by Israel Acrelius. The original Swedish work had been printed in Stockholm in 1759, under the title, *Beskrifning Om De Svenska Församlingars Forna Och Närvarande Tilstånd Uti Det så kallade Nya Sverige*. Two years later, the year of the centennial of the Declaration of Independence, Professor C. H. Odhner published in Sweden a scholarly study, "Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning 1637-1642," and in 1878, Dr. Carl Sprinchorn added a treatise on "Kolonien Nya Sveriges Historia," both of which are printed in Silverstolpe's *Historisk Bibliotek*, Ny följd I. These studies were based on extensive researches in Swedish manuscript collections, and added much to Acrelius' account. Professor Gregory Keen translated both of these works for *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (III, 1879, and VIII, 1884). Vol. VII, 1883, of the same *Magazine* contained Professor Keen's translation of "Professor Odhner's Account of Willem Usselinx and the South, Ship, and West India Companies of Sweden."

With Acrelius' *History* should be mentioned as literary monuments of the Mission John Campanius' translation of *Luther's Catechism* into the Indian language, published a half century after its composition, in Stockholm, in 1696. A grandson of Campanius, Thomas Campanius Holm, wrote in 1702 the *Description of the Province of New Sweden*, which Dr. Ponceau translated for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1834), but neither the original nor the translation can always be relied on. Vol. XVI, 1892, of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* included "A Brief Account of the Swedish Mission from its Commencement until its Cessa-

32 C. Sprinchorn, "Kolonien Nya Sveriges Historia" (*Historisk Bibliotek*), 243.

tion," by Nicholas Collin, the last of the Swedish ministers. His successor, Rev. J. C. Clay, in 1835, published *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*. It is sketchy and not always trustworthy, but contains some historic documents; it appeared in 1938 in a fourth edition. The most valuable study of the Swedish Mission in the eighteenth century is Otto Norberg's *Svenska Kyrkans Mission Vid Delaware* (Stockholm, 1893).

The last two or three decades have seen considerable activity in research concerning the Delaware Colony. Undoubtedly the main stimulus has been the painstaking work of Amandus Johnson, who in 1911 published *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, their History and Relation to the Indians, Dutch and English, 1638-1664*, 2 vols. (University of Pennsylvania, 1911). "The Indians and their Culture as described in Swedish and Dutch Records from 1614 to 1664," is an article contributed by the same author, published in *Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists* (Washington, December, 1915). In 1925, The Swedish Colonial Society (Philadelphia) printed Dr. Johnson's translation and edition of *Geographia Americae* by Peter Lindeström, the Swedish engineer who mapped the Delaware just before the fall of New Sweden to New Amsterdam. *The Journal and Biography of Nicholas Collin*, the last of the Swedish ministers, who died in 1831, thus terminating the connection of the Delaware Church with Sweden, has been translated and edited by Johnson, and published by the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, 1936.

The relationship of the Swedish colonists to the Indians has engaged the attention of Nils Jacobsson in Sweden. His *Svenskar Och Indianer* came out in Stockholm, in 1922, and in *Per Lindeströms resa till Nya Sverige, 1633-1656* (Stockholm, 1928). Jacobsson has given an analytical account of Lindeström's volume. Albin Widen contributed an article, "Om gudsbegreppet hos Lenape," in *Ethnos* (Ethnological Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, 1937, No. 4).

The shrines and historic spots still remaining of New Sweden in and around Philadelphia are graphically described by H. D. Paxson, in *Where Pennsylvania History Began* (Philadelphia, 1926). The early history of the colony has nowhere been told in more attractive literary form than in

Christopher Ward's *The Dutch and the Swedes on the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1930).

In 1748-51 the Swedish scientist, Peter Kalm, visited the colonies and Canada, under the auspices of the Swedish Academy of Sciences. His Journal appeared in Sweden, and in several other countries in translation. The English translation of Foster has been revised and added to, and the Journal now appears, with many references to the Swedish settlements, in a two volume work of A. B. Benson, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (New York, 1937).

HENRY M. TURNER, NEGRO BISHOP EXTRAORDINARY

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The Negro church presents an important field of investigation to students of American social history. Many slaves found in Christianity a substitute for primitive African religious beliefs and practices and a source for the satisfaction of their religious longings. The churches offered to the American Negro his first opportunities for participation in organized group life in a new environment. Experience in church organization and activity trained thousands of slaves for the larger fields of effort which were opened to them after emancipation. Approximately one-tenth of the present total membership of the American churches belongs to this race. For more than three centuries the church has served as the most important factor in typing the institutions and ideals of our largest minority racial group.

The history of the Negro church is the most neglected phase of American ecclesiastical history. In the standard histories of American Christianity the Negro receives scant attention, except in references to occasions when white Christians became concerned about his presence either as a challenge to missionary endeavor or as a disruptive factor tending to divide denominations into opposing groups as often as they attempted to solve the problems of slavery and race relations.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church, organized on a connectional basis in 1816, is the oldest and largest of the independent Negro Methodist denominations. Its records constitute an excellent commentary on the ever-changing status of the Negro-American. These records and the writings of the official historians of the denomination present convincing evidence that proper recognition has never been given to the historical importance of the Negro leaders who made the church the dominant factor in promoting the spiritual, intellect-

ual, moral, economic, and social well-being of their people.¹ Three outstanding leaders, Richard Allen, Daniel A. Payne, and Henry M. Turner, were chiefly responsible for the development of the programs, policies, and activities of the African Methodist Episcopal Church during the first century of its history.²

Henry M. Turner was one of the most influential of the Negro prophets who sought to solve the problems of his race and to guide his people along the paths that lead to God. The sixty-four years of his public ministry cover the most critical period in the history of the American Negro. Throughout this period he helped the Negro to adjust himself to a social environment which prescribed changes in his status with a most confusing persistency and frequency. He was a trusted leader during the slavery régime; he participated in the fight for freedom during the Civil War; he gave spiritual and political guidance to the bewildered freedmen during the era of reconstruction; and the last thirty-five years of his life were devoted to service as a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Convinced that religion should concern itself with all areas of life, he believed that his position as a leader in the Christian church placed him under obligation to seek the solution of every problem which confronted his race. His life story reveals the handicaps, the needs, the aspirations, and the achievements of his people.

Turner was born of free Negro parents at Newberry Court-house, South Carolina, on February 1, 1833. He could rightfully lay claim to royal lineage. David Greer, his maternal grandfather, was brought to South Carolina as a slave, but later secured manumission by proving to a colonial court that he was the son of an African king and consequently was entitled to his freedom under an English law which forbade the

1 Official histories of the African Methodist Episcopal Church have been published as follows: Daniel A. Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville, 1891); John T. Jenifer, *Centennial Retrospect History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville, 1912); and, Charles Spencer Smith, *A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, 1922).

2 Biographies of these Negro Methodist leaders have been published as follows: Charles H. Wesley, *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom* (Washington, D. C., 1935); J. R. Coan, *Daniel Alexander Payne, Christian Educator* (Philadelphia, 1935); and, M. M. Ponton, *Life and Times of Henry M. Turner* (Atlanta, 1917).

enslavement of Africans of royal blood.³ Though born free and of royal lineage, Turner experienced many of the evils involved in the slavery system. His parents found it difficult to secure the necessities of life since they were free Negroes working under the handicap of competition with the slave labor system. They were forced to hire their son to a plantation owner for work with the slave gangs as soon as he was old enough to render the slightest service. Exacting labor as a plantation worker, blacksmith, and carriage maker was his lot in childhood and youth.

After 1835 there were no schools for Negroes in South Carolina and state laws forbade any citizen to teach a Negro to read and write.⁴ The purchase of a spelling book marked the beginning of Turner's determined and prolonged efforts to secure an education. Three instructors—a white woman, a young white playmate, and an old Negro man—taught him to read and write. Each of these instructors deserted him because of the pressure of public opinion which condemned such activity as both illegal and dangerous. Thus left to his own initiative, he mastered the spelling book and added to his stock of learning until he was able to read the Bible. Before reaching the age of fifteen, he had read the Bible through five times. He had also formed the habit of memorizing lengthy passages of Scripture, a practice which enabled him to develop a tenacious memory.

At the age of fifteen he secured employment as an office boy in the service of a legal firm at Abbeville, South Carolina. The lawyers soon discovered that he had unusual mental ability. "They thought it was marvelous," says Turner, "that a common Negro boy could carry any message, however many words it contained or figures it involved, and repeat it as accurately as if written upon paper." In defiance of the law the lawyers assisted Turner in his efforts to secure an education by giving him access to all their books and by providing him with personal instruction in any subjects which he wished to study.⁵

Under the leadership of William Capers, an extensive pro-

3 D. W. Culp, *Twentieth Century Negro Literature* (Naperville, Ill., 1902), 42-43.

4 H. M. Henry, *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina* (Emory, Va., 1914), 152ff.

5 William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark*, (Cleveland, Ohio, 1887), 807-810.

gram of missions to Negroes was inaugurated by the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the year 1829. In 1851, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was employing ninety-nine full-time missionaries who were engaged exclusively in religious work among the plantation Negroes of the South. This unique missionary adventure was the most important single factor in the religious development of Southern Negroes in the decade immediately preceding the Civil War. Henry M. Turner was one of the many Negro leaders who were converted and trained for Christian service through the efforts of the plantation missionaries.⁶ He was admitted to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as a probationer in the year 1848, but was not received into full membership because of his indifference to religious interests and his intemperate habits. In 1851 he was converted under the influence of a sermon preached by Samuel Leard, one of the missionaries. Years later, after Turner had become an outstanding religious leader, he wrote a letter to Leard in which he described his conversion experience as follows: "Up to this moment I have carried in my breast a grateful heart that God ever gave you to the ministry . . . You, at Sharon Camp Ground, in 1851, so stunned me by your powerful preaching that I fell upon the ground, rolled in the dirt, foamed at the mouth, and agonized under conviction till Christ relieved me by his atoning blood . . . I have preached and worked for God in every position held from the day I gave you my hand up to the present."⁷

The slave codes abounded in legislation designed to suppress the activities of Negro ministers, but trusted Negro preachers were permitted to engage in religious work in any Southern state, provided they had influential white friends who would vouch for their character and conduct. In fact, the Christian ministry offered to the ante-bellum Southern Negro his one safe opportunity for extensive and effective group leadership. The idea that the ministry would open the way to racial leadership, together with a genuine desire to serve the religious

6 On the plantation missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, see, W. P. Harrison, *The Gospel Among the Slaves* (Nashville, Tenn., 1893); Susan Markey Fickling, *Slave-Conversion in South Carolina, 1830-1860* (Columbia, S. C., 1924); and, Clarence V. Bruner, *The Religious Instruction of the Slaves in the Antebellum South* (Typed Ph. D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn., 1933).

7 Harrison, *Gospel Among the Slaves*, 379, 380.

interests of the Negroes, prompted Turner to become a Christian minister.

In 1851 he was licensed as an exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. For years thereafter he devoted his entire time to study and preaching. He renewed his study of the Bible and attempted the mastery of such books as Watson's *Apology for the Bible*, Buck's *Theological Dictionary*, and Adam Clarke's *Commentaries*. In 1853 he was licensed to preach, thus achieving the highest rank granted to Negro preachers by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the years prior to the Civil War. Under the sponsorship of representative leaders of this denomination he travelled for five years as a missionary to slaves and free Negroes in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Missouri.⁸

In 1857 Turner visited New Orleans. Here he met Dr. Willis R. Revels, a Negro physician and a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. From Revels he learned the details of the work of Richard Allen as the champion of Negro rights and the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.⁹ Although this denomination was weak in numbers, having only 19,437 members,¹⁰ it could rightfully claim that during the four decades of its history it had preserved all the characteristic features of Methodist doctrine, polity, and practice while encouraging the Negroes to develop their church life on an independent basis, free from any supervision by white ministers who might be disposed to curb the development of race consciousness or hinder the Negro in his efforts at self-development and self-expression. Turner resolved to devote the remainder of his life to the service of this independent Negro Methodist church. Accordingly in 1858 he withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and was admitted to the Missouri Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church as a preacher on trial. He was then transferred to Baltimore where he served as a pastor for four years. Here he worked in association with Bishop Daniel A. Payne and Rev. A. W. Wayman, the two outstanding leaders

⁸ *Ibid.*, 379. See also, Benj. T. Tanner, *An Apology for African Methodism* (Baltimore, 1867), 415, 416.

⁹ Benj. T. Tanner, *An Apology for African Methodism*, 416.

¹⁰ Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 415.

of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.¹¹ They taught him the best traditions of independent Negro Methodism.

The slave codes prohibited the African Methodist Episcopal Church from ministering to the mass of the Negro population in slave territory. Hence Turner decided to prepare himself for mission service in Africa. White friends trained him for this work. Members of the faculty of Trinity College, Baltimore, gave him private instruction in most of the subjects included in the curriculum of that college. Baltimore ministers tutored him in elocution, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and theology.¹² The outbreak of the Civil War, however, convinced Turner that he would soon have greater opportunities for Christian service among the Negroes of the South. In 1862 he was appointed to the pastorate of Israel Metropolitan Church, the largest Negro church in the city of Washington. He invited friends of the Negro, such as Benjamin F. Wade and Thaddeus Stevens, to address his congregation on current racial and political problems. Washington experiences and friendships enabled him to lay the foundations for a career as one of the most influential Negro political leaders during the era of reconstruction.

In 1863, on recommendation of Salmon P. Chase and Edwin M. Stanton, President Lincoln commissioned Turner as the first Negro chaplain in the United States Army. He served as Chaplain of the First Regiment of U. S. Colored Troops throughout the remainder of the war and was present in each of the thirteen battles in which his regiment participated.¹³ After the war, President Andrew Johnson recommissioned Turner as a chaplain of the regular army and detailed him for service with the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia. Shortly after arriving in Atlanta, he resigned his chaplaincy in order to devote his entire time to directing the political and religious activities of the Georgia Negroes.¹⁴

For the next ten years Turner was the leading Negro politician in Georgia. He demonstrated qualities of genius in

11 See A. W. Wayman, *My Recollections of African M. E. Ministers* (Philadelphia, 1881), 71-82.

12 Ponton, *Life and Times of Henry M. Turner*, 35, 36.

13 Jenifer, *Centennial Retrospect History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 392.

14 J. T. Haley, *Thoughts, Doings, and Sayings of the Race* (Nashville, Tenn., 1896), 37.

marshalling the enfranchised freedmen and in directing their first adventures in the untried and inviting field of politics. Southerners have been severely critical of this Negro preacher who suddenly transformed himself into a militant and successful politician, but the facts indicate that Turner sincerely desired to promote interracial good will while championing what he regarded as the inherent and legal rights of his people. The reconstruction policies were drafted in Washington; Turner and other Negro political leaders of his type were not responsible for the race hatred and political chaos which resulted from the attempted application of these policies.

Turner began his political career in 1867 by writing a pamphlet which described the attitudes of the Democratic and Republican parties toward the freedmen. The Republican Party has circulated four million copies of this pamphlet among the literate and illiterate Negroes of the South. The Republican Executive Committee placed Turner in charge of the task of organizing the colored voters of Georgia. He served as a member of the Republican State Central Executive Committee, as a member of the Georgia Constitutional Convention of 1867, and also as a member of the Georgia State Legislature of 1868.¹⁵ Two years later, Negro participation in state affairs was curbed by the expulsion of Turner and other Negro members from the legislature. Thereupon Turner attempted to organize Negroes into "a union to control the price of labor," thus encouraging his people to use economic pressure as a means of securing their rights as citizens. In 1869 President Grant appointed him Inspector of Customs at Savannah. Later he was appointed Postmaster at Macon, Georgia, and held office for a time as Deputy U. S. Marshal.¹⁶

Throughout the ten year period 1866-1876, Turner was also the most influential Negro religious leader in Georgia. During the Civil War, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, with the aid of the federal military authorities, had extended its work into the Southern states.¹⁷ In 1866 Bishop Daniel A. Payne placed Turner in charge of all the work of this

15 See Henry M. Turner, *Speech on the Eligibility of Colored Members to Seats in the Georgia Legislature . . . Delivered before that Body, September 3, 1868* (Augusta, Ga., 1868), 1-16.

16 Simmons, *Men of Mark*, 812-816; and I. W. Avery, *The History of the State of Georgia from 1850 to 1881* (New York, 1881), 375, 396, 405, 412-416.

17 Smith, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 51ff.

church within the State of Georgia. The time was opportune for the expansion of Negro Methodism in this area. The freedmen were discontented with their subordinate status in the churches controlled by Southern whites, as is evidenced by the fact that the Negro membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, declined from a total of 207,000 in 1861 to 13,262 in 1870.¹⁸ Turner and the other ministers of his denomination who labored in the South gathered most of these Negro Methodist secessionists into the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In the first year of his work in Georgia, he persuaded 11,000 freedmen to unite with his church. Within ten years he won 40,000 members, organized them into congregations, provided them with places of worship, and also recruited, trained, and supervised 226 Negro Methodist preachers.¹⁹ Chiefly owing to his untiring efforts, the African Methodist Episcopal Church is now the fourth largest religious denomination in Georgia, where it has 1,173 churches and 74,000 members.

Turner's career as the political and religious leader of the Georgia freedmen was given nationwide publicity. The University of Pennsylvania recognized his achievements by honoring him with a LL. D. degree in 1872. The following year Wilberforce University, the first independent American Negro college, granted him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1876, his church gave him a connectional office as General Manager of the A. M. E. Book Concern, the oldest American Negro publishing house. During four years of tenure in this office he persuaded Negro readers to invest \$50,000 in the purchase of religious literature.²⁰ In 1880 he was elected a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Turner served as a bishop from 1880 to 1915. For more than a third of a century he was one of the dominant figures in the councils of his church. He helped to define its policies, directed many of its activities, and supervised its leadership personnel in various episcopal districts. Life was for him a constant round of travel and a ceaseless succession of con-

18 Elmer T. Clark, *The Negro and His Religion* (Nashville, Tenn., 1924), 34-36.

19 On Turner's activities in Georgia during the reconstruction era, see, W. J. Gaines, *African Methodism in the South* (Atlanta, 1890), 4-106; and, Simmons, *Men of Mark*, 812-816.

20 R. R. Wright, Jr., *Centennial Encyclopaedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, 1916), 293, 294.

ferences. But the details of administrative work never obscured his vision of a better future for his race. As a gifted Christian leader of an underprivileged people, he was concerned with all their interests and sought the solution of all their problems.

Education was a primary need of the freedmen. Turner's experiences in Georgia convinced him that the social progress of his people was dependent upon the preparation of well-trained ministers and educators. He was often forced to employ untrained preachers, but he insisted that they should seek to train themselves for their work.²¹ The journals of the annual conferences which he attended usually record this item: "Henry M. Turner spoke on ministerial education." He persuaded scores of the sons of former slaves to enter Wilberforce University and other schools in order that they might prepare

21 At the South Carolina Conference of 1867, Turner prepared the report of the Committee on Missions and Education. This report reveals his realization of the pathetic need of the Southern Negroes for trained ministers and increased educational facilities. "Many new fields," he wrote, "have been opened, and scores of ministers have put on the missionary harness and bravely periled their all for the sake of carrying the Gospel to the poor. The result of their labor has been the accession of more missionary fields than we can supply with preachers. Your Committee regret to inform you that we shall lack near one hundred preachers of supplying our missionary demands. Everywhere the cry is, send us the Gospel through the heralds of the A. M. E. Church. But ministers and means are both inadequate to the enormity of the work . . . The education of our people is also engaging the attention of the world; and while much credit is due the A. M. E. Church for her labors in that direction, your Committee have fears that some of our ministerial representatives are not alive to its indispensable importance. We therefore recommend that the Conference require each Itinerant Minister to raise and report the same next Conference, a Lyceum, Reading, Debating, or Literary Society in his field of labor, and that he be held accountable for failure or neglect. And further, that each Pastor, as per Discipline, see that the rule requiring Local Preachers and Exhorters to labor in Sunday Schools is enforced . . . We would recommend that a Committee of Five be appointed to devise a plan and select a place for a suitable institution either in Georgia, North or South Carolina, where our young ministers can study at least the elements of Divinity." See C. S. Smith, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 519, 520. At the Georgia Conference of 1875, he volunteered to instruct any young ministers who could find time to spend a few weeks or months with him. In discussing the necessity of an educated ministry in a report to this conference, he said: "We cannot expect the people to feed, clothe and reverence us unless we are able to repay them with that instruction and knowledge which our exalted position demands, and they naturally expect. The simple titles of preacher, deacon and elder are not enough to satisfy those who are thirsting for moral and religious knowledge. We must be able to impart the same, otherwise we will become mere sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, and our preaching will be but little more than the low of an ox or the bray of an ass. The minister is the representative of our Lord Jesus Christ, and as such he should be able, learned and chaste, and every spare moment should be devoted to the acquisition of such information as will fit him for his high station." See Gaines, *African Methodism in the South*, 61, 62.

themselves for the work of the ministry. In 1900 he helped to establish Turner Theological Seminary at Atlanta, Georgia, which continues to train ministers for service in Southern Negro churches.

Bishop Turner believed that the independent Negro churches could establish and operate schools that would train the type of leaders needed by the Negroes of the South. Such schools could encourage the development of race consciousness and seek the solutions for racial problems without interference by white teachers or trustees. He persuaded his church to transfer the major part of its educational activities to the Southern area. As a result, it established twelve schools and colleges in the Southern states during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.²² Many of these schools continue to lift the cultural level of the Southern Negroes. But recognizing that the schools of his denomination and the other Negro churches could only furnish leaders for racial advancement, Bishop Turner constantly championed the thesis that it was the obligation of each state to offer public education for all of its Negro youth. As a member of the Georgia Legislature of 1868, he helped to draft plans for the free school system of that state. For more than fifty years he solicited the help of the Northern and Southern friends of the Negro in support of improved school facilities for his people.

A race that was learning to read needed a literature that was adapted to its cultural level and racial interests. Bishop Turner helped to create a literature that would inform the Negroes of the activities of their churches, record the achievements of their race, and suggest new avenues of progress. During the course of his long career he prepared the following books for publication: *Methodist Polity*; *The Revised Hymnal of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*; *Theological Institutes*; *Catechism of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*; *The Negro in All Ages*; *African Letters*; and, *The Black Man's Doom*. The last mentioned work, published in 1896, was a militant protest against the action of the United States Supreme Court in declaring the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional.²³ Bishop Turner also interpreted the viewpoint of the Negro in

22 Jenifer, *op. cit.*, 161-183; and, G. F. Richings, *Evidences of Progress Among Colored People*, (Philadelphia, 1897), 117-153.

23 Vernon Loggins, *The Negro Author* (New York, 1931), 299.

numerous articles which he contributed to *The Independent* and other magazines. In 1886 he established the *Southern Christian Recorder*, a religious newspaper which continues to express Negro opinion on racial and religious issues.

Bishop Turner was interested in the improvement of worship in the Negro churches. He prepared an excellent hymnal for his denomination, thus encouraging his people to develop their unique talents in the field of music.²⁴ He knew that most Negro congregations of his day preferred religious services which stimulated emotional excitement by the use of ingenious combinations of the frontier revivalistic techniques together with other features which were borrowed from primitive African religious rites. He urged the Negroes to adopt ritualism and the use of clerical vestments in order to create an atmosphere of formality and dignity in their worship services. He succeeded in persuading the General Conference of 1880 to pass a resolution authorizing ministers to wear clerical robes, but this practice was not universally adopted. One historian of the church indicates that a reaction against Turner's proposal developed because "the sisters in some of the rural districts robed their pastor with gowns resembling Joseph's coat of many colors."²⁵ Nevertheless, Turner's example and precepts helped to make the worship services of the Negro churches more refined, orderly, and instructive.

Bishop Turner championed a solution of the race problem which he could never persuade his followers to accept. He had welcomed with high hopes the emancipation and enfranchisement of the Negro, but the exclusion of the Negro from effective participation in politics at the end of the reconstruction era made him despair of all hope for a promising future for the race in America. He regarded the Negro-American as forever doomed to failure in his attempts to attain the level of civilization enjoyed by his white neighbors.²⁶ In justification

24 James A. Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist Episcopal History* (Philadelphia, n. d.) 247, 252, 253.

25 Jenifer, *Centennial Retrospect History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 306, 307.

26 See Bishop Turner's discussion of the topic, "Will it be possible for the Negro to attain in this country unto the American type of civilization?" in Culp, *Twentieth Century Negro Literature*, 42-44. He concludes his discussion of the topic with these words: "Such being the barbarous conditions of the United States and the low order of civilization which controls its institutions, I see nothing for the Negro to attain unto in this country. I have already ad-

of this pessimistic view he was accustomed to recite the handicaps experienced by Negroes living in the South, such as disfranchisement, segregation, inequality in the courts, lack of educational opportunity, economic oppression, lynching, and other forms of mob violence.²⁷ The migration of Negroes to the North, he argued, would produce forms of race prejudice and discrimination which would ultimately become as violent as those experienced in the South. Speaking on one occasion to a Boston audience of white people, who were obviously proud of their freedom from race prejudice, he said: "I am much obliged to you for this kind reception. I have been to Boston many times. You always listen to me very politely, and especially when I criticise the South; but I have never slept in one of your beds nor eaten at any of your tables."²⁸

After 1876, Turner persistently advocated the colonization of American Negroes in Africa as the one practical solution of the race problem. He attempted to enlist support for the colonization project by means of addresses, personal conferences, and articles which he contributed to *The Independent* and numerous other magazines.²⁹ In his efforts to popularize this movement, he was accustomed to picture a distant future when the Negroes, happily located in Africa, would look back upon slavery as a providential institution of temporary duration, which was designed for the purpose of civilizing and Christianizing American Negroes in order that they might return to Africa and confer the benefits of civilization upon the African natives. Colonization, he argued, would prove beneficial to the colonists as they would make more rapid progress in Africa where they would have complete control of their own political,

mitted that this country has books and schools, and the younger members of the Negro race, like the younger members of the white race, should attend them and profit by them. But for the Negro as a whole, I see nothing here for him to aspire after. He can return to Africa, especially to Liberia where a Negro government is already in existence, and learn the elements of civilization in fact; for human life is there sacred, and no man is deprived of it or any other thing that involves his manhood, without due process of law. So my decision is that there is nothing in the United States for the Negro to learn or try to attain to."

27 See H. M. Turner, "Races Must Separate," *The Possibilities of the Negro in Symposium* (Atlanta, 1904), 90-98.

28 Cited by E. E. Hoss, *Proceedings of the Joint Commission on Unification of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1918), I, 141.

29 See H. M. Turner, "Negro Emigration to Africa," *The Independent* (New York, September 7, 1899), Vol. 51, 2430-2432.

economic, and social institutions. The emigration of Negroes to Africa would bring peace and quiet to the American nation which was torn by interracial conflict. Moreover, the presence of the colonists would help to "save Africa for the Africans" by encouraging effective resistance to the imperialistic designs of the European powers that were planning the partition of the Dark Continent.

Turner attempted to put new life into the moribund American Colonization Society. As vice president of this Society, he urged voluntary organizations and the federal government to assist in financing the transportation of Negroes to Africa and enlisted volunteers who were willing to migrate.³⁰ At first he seemed to make some progress. In the year 1877, the ship *Azor*, chartered by the Colonization Society, made two voyages to Liberia, transporting a total of 274 colonists.³¹ But interest soon lagged and Bishop Turner was never successful in this effort. Ordinarily, the Negroes had a profound respect for his counsels, but when this great grandson of an African king attempted to lead them back to the Dark Continent, they gave him a hearing that was respectful but not responsive.

Bishop Turner's interest in African affairs prompted him to inaugurate a missionary program which continues to challenge American Negroes to labor for the Christianization of their kinsmen in Africa. In 1820, Daniel Coker, an associate of Richard Allen during the early history of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, had attempted to establish a mission in Africa, but he failed to secure effective support from the American churches.³² The denomination was compelled to delay the extension of its work to Africa for more than fifty

30 In 1904 Bishop Turner said: "I have been singled out in this country as the chief factor in the African emigration movement, and as such I believe that I have received all of a hundred thousand letters, some of them containing dozens and dozens of names, who are clamoring for transportation conveniences and cheap rates from this (country) to the land of their ancestors . . . This nation, or its aggregated people, will either have to open up a highway to Africa for the discontented or the Negro question will flinder this government . . . I am only contending that there should be a highway across the Atlantic for such black men and women as are self-reliant and have those manhood aspirations that God planted in them and degrading laws will intensify." See *The Possibilities of the Negro in Symposium*, 94ff.

31 Benjamin Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro* (New York, 1921), 197.

32 Daniel Coker, *Journal of Daniel Coker, A Descendant of Africa* (Baltimore, 1820).

years, owing to its small membership, slender economic resources, and its concern for the seemingly more imperative task of evangelizing the freedmen of the South. In 1878, an African Methodist Episcopal Church, numbering thirty members, migrated from Charleston, South Carolina, to Monrovia, Liberia. This church served as the nucleus for the African missions of the denomination. In 1891 Bishop Turner visited Africa and organized the Sierra Leone Conference and the Liberia Conference.³³ At the General Conference of 1892, he made an impressive appeal to the church for support in behalf of African missions. The following year he made a second episcopal visit to the West Coast of Africa. On this visit he was accompanied by four missionaries who had volunteered for service in Liberia.³⁴

In 1896, the Ethiopian Church of South Africa, an organization of Negroes who had formerly held membership in the Anglican Church or the Wesleyan Methodist Church, sent a delegation to Bishop Turner at Atlanta, Georgia, to arrange for the union of their denomination with the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The resulting merger gave the African Methodist Episcopal Church a membership constituency and extensive property holdings in South Africa. The following year, Bishop Turner again visited the African missions. On this trip he ordained sixty natives for the work of the ministry and organized two additional annual conferences: the Transvaal Conference with a membership of 7,175, and the Cape Colony Conference, with a membership of 3,625.³⁵

In addition to this work of founding and supervising African missions, Bishop Turner labored to make his church conscious of its missionary obligations. For more than a quarter of a century, he conducted effective propaganda for missions by delivering missionary addresses which challenged the attention of his hearers because they were based on his personal investigations of conditions existing in Africa. The publication of his *African Letters* awakened in many American Negroes a sympathetic interest in the fate of the African tribesmen. In 1893, he organized the "Woman's Home and Foreign

33 A. L. Ridgel, *Africa and African Methodism* (Atlanta, Ga., 1896), 57ff; 108ff.

34. *Ibid.*, 30ff. Ridgel was one of the missionaries who accompanied Turner.

35 See Smith, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 181ff.

Missionary Society" of his denomination which continues to enlist the co-operation of thousands of Negro women in the work of missionary education and the collection of missionary funds. In 1893, Bishop Turner began the publication of the *Voice of Missions*, which was probably the first Negro paper devoted to the advocacy of the cause of Christian missions. Perhaps time will prove that Bishop Turner was right in his contention that the task of Christianizing the Africans should be entrusted to Negro rather than white missionaries. Certainly he deserves recognition as one of the most influential American Negro advocates of the evangelization of the natives of Africa.

Bishop Turner was frequently selected as the spokesman for his race and his denomination in interracial and interdenominational assemblies. His impressive appearance, sound wisdom, and marked ability as an orator qualified him for this type of service. He represented his denomination at the Centennial Celebration of American Methodism at Baltimore in 1884; in the Second Ecumenical Methodist Conference at Washington in 1891; and, in the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893. He was deeply interested in establishing a union of all the Negro Methodists of the United States and Canada. In 1884 he was chiefly responsible for the union of the British Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada with the African Methodist Episcopal Church.³⁶ He helped to plan and organize a council of all the bishops of the three independent Negro Methodist denominations.³⁷ This council, which held its first session at Washington in 1908, inaugurated important steps toward co-operation between the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. These three denominations may yet unite and thus realize Bishop Turner's dream of a united independent Negro Methodism.

Bishop Turner continued in active episcopal service until his death at Windsor, Ontario, on May 8, 1915. Few men of the Negro race have had careers more varied or more influential. He regarded his church as the best agency for the advancement of the well-being of his race. He saw his denomina-

36 Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist Episcopal History*, 264, 275ff.

37 Jenifer, *Centennial Retrospect History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 350-370.

tion increase its membership from 19,000 in 1858 to 548,000 in 1915. He was more responsible than any other individual both for the remarkable growth of his church and for its far-reaching influence in shaping the religious and racial history of the American Negro.

ANGLICANS AND DISSENTERS IN GEORGIA, 1758-1777

MARJORIE DANIEL

Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

Georgia in the revolutionary period, not unlike many other provinces along the American seaboard, lacked social solidarity and unity. The lack was not the result of great ethnic diversity alone or of the disharmony arising from economic inequalities and political disagreement. To racial variety and divergences attributable to economic and political conditions were added many differences in customs and modes of living and in traditional thought which could be ascribed, in part at least, to the numerous religious sects attracted to the province by the liberal provisions of its charter. The religious conflicts of the period are best seen in the struggle over the establishment of the Church of England and in the relations of the dissenters with the civil government and with the religious establishment. The question of external ecclesiastical control, issues and grievances of a religious nature which appeared in the revolutionary argument, and the alignment of the sects on the question of open conflict with Great Britain, are interesting and important aspects of the whole religious situation. It is with these phases of the religious history of Georgia during two decades that this study is largely concerned.

Many persons who came to the new colony were Anglicans. But Presbyterians and Congregationalists also came; and the Salzburgers, Quakers, Moravians, Huguenots, Baptists, and Jews were represented in the province whose charter granted to all persons who inhabited or would inhabit or be resident in the colony liberty of conscience in the worship of God, and provided that "all such persons, except papists," should have free exercise of religion, "so they be contented with the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the government."¹ The dissenting elements, thus

¹ Charter in William MacDonald (ed.), *Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History 1606-1775* (New York, 1899), 244.

encouraged, grew in numbers and strengthened their hold among the settlers between the Altamaha and the Ogeechee rivers and along the seacoast from Augusta, in the parish of St. Paul, on the north, to Darien, in the parish of St. Andrew, on the south.

A zealous Anglican minister and missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, was the first to present a memorial to both houses of the Georgia legislature setting forth the expediency of a bill for constituting parishes in the province and for giving the vestry and church wardens of each parish such privileges as the laws and customs of England allowed. But this memorial was tabled on the day of its presentation,² and almost two years elapsed before Edward Barnard presented to the commons house a bill for the establishment of religious worship in Georgia according to the Church of England and for erecting churches for public worship.³ After prolonged debate and many amendments, Barnard's bill finally passed both houses.⁴

Numerous difficulties beset the friends of Anglicanism in their struggle to get their bill passed into law. When the measure was being discussed, the members of the lower house were divided into three factions — "Churchmen, Dissenters, such as Care for no Churches at all." The German Protestants and the Congregationalists of the Midway District were the two strongest groups among the dissenters and each had its "several Pretensions & differ[e]d as much from each other as both differ[e]d from the Church of England." Those of the German persuasion, informed that the Act of Toleration was to be abolished, and disturbed by other reports, appealed to Joseph Ottolenghe, one of the committee and a convert from Judaism, to obtain "such Favours in the Bill as might give them Ease." Ottolenghe, anxious that the bill pass, agreed to humor the Germans "to prevent their union with the other Dissenters." But opposition of other dissenters to the proposed establishment continued. Depreciatory papers were handed about, and a particular one sought to prove that an established church

² March 5, 1755. See A. D. Candler (comp.), *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1907), XVI, 65 (hereafter referred to as *C. R.*).

³ February 7, 1757. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 156.

⁴ The commons house, February 10, 1757; *Ibid.*, 159; the upper house, February 22, 1758; *Ibid.*, XVI, 282.

would be destructive to the constitution⁵ and that provision for the poor would be hurtful to society. The dissenters, disappointed in the house's action, turned to the council where every member, except two, was a dissenter. The council altered the bill considerably and was careful to omit the words "*Church of England*" wherever they appeared. On Ottolenghe's motion, a conference with the upper house was requested, and he, with a committee which included two dissenters, was named to confer with the council. The conferees settled some points among themselves and then the debates began, debates which lasted for several hours and into the night of the first day and were resumed the second day. The outcome of much "talking & standing" was the establishment of the Church of England in the province.⁶

The act as finally assented to by Governor Henry Ellis on March 15, 1758 was elaborate and explicit. The several districts and divisions of the province were constituted into eight parishes: Christ Church, St. Matthew, St. George, St. Paul, St. Philip, St. John, St. Andrew, and St. James.⁷ The church in the town of Savannah and the ground already in use for a burial place were to be the parish church and the burial ground of the parish of Christ Church. Similar specifications were made in regard to the church and burial place in the town of Augusta, parish of St. Paul. Fourteen commissioners were named to see that a church was built in each of the other six parishes, that a convenient habitation was provided for a rector of each parish, and that a burial place for each church was enclosed. The church and habitation were to be erected and the cemetery was to be laid out in such part of each parish as the king should grant on application by the commissioners to the governor and council. The commissioners were empowered to take up glebe lands, by grant of the king, for each church.

Provision was made for the choice of vestrymen and

⁵ Presumably the unwritten constitution of Britain.

⁶ An abstract of a letter from Ottolenghe, August 12, 1758 (enclosed in an anonymous letter to His Grace of Canterbury) is a very illuminating and revealing document. The abstract is among the Miscellaneous Documents of the S. P. G. Relating to Georgia 1759-1782 (photostats in the Library of Congress). These papers will hereafter be referred to as S. P. G. Documents.

⁷ In 1765 four other parishes were created: St. David, St. Patrick, St. Thomas, and St. Mary. At the same time, the parish of St. James was extended to include Jekyl Island. See Robert and George Watkins, *A Digest of the Laws of Georgia* (Philadelphia, 1800), no. 126, p. 114.

church wardens in each parish, and the specific tasks of the rector, the vestrymen, and the church wardens were indicated in the act. Raising sums for repairing the parish church, providing for the impotent poor, providing bread and wine for the Holy Eucharist, and paying the salaries of a clerk and sexton were among their duties. It was made lawful for the rector, vestrymen, and church wardens to raise sums necessary for the aforesaid purposes, provided the sums did not exceed, in any one year, thirty pounds in the parish of Christ Church or in the parish of Saint Paul, or ten pounds in any of the other parishes where a church had yet to be built. An equal tax was to be assessed on the real and personal property of every inhabitant, owner, and occupier of lands, tenements, and hereditaments within each parish respectively.⁸ A justice of the peace could levy on any person or persons who refused or neglected to pay, "by distress and Sale of the Defaulters Goods and Chattels . . ." The church wardens were made responsible for providing books in which to record all births, christenings, marriages, and burials in each parish.⁹

Though it was established by law and encouraged in numerous ways, the progress of Anglicanism in Georgia was slow. In 1767, Governor James Wright wrote the S. P. G. Secretary that the province was then settling rapidly and there was a great want of clergymen. At the same time he had to acquaint him "that no Churches are yet Built, but at Savannah & Augusta."¹⁰ Two years later Samuel Frink, then missionary at Savannah, complained that the commissioners had exercised very little of the power granted by the act of 1758 and that there were still only two churches of the Anglican denomination in the entire province.¹¹

The situation in the individual parishes was no more favorable to the establishment. The parish of Christ Church harbored dissenters of many denominations—Lutherans, French Protestants, Jews, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and a few called Methodists.¹² Early in the 1760's, of about four

⁸ The vestrymen and church wardens were to appoint the collectors of the tax.

⁹ See *C. R.*, XVIII, 258-272, for these and other details of the act.

¹⁰ Letter to Dr. Burton, November 10, 1767, in *S. P. G. Documents*.

¹¹ Letter of June 29, 1769. See *S. P. G. Journals*, September 15, 1769, vol. XVIII, pt. 2, pp. 205-206 (photostats in the Library of Congress).

¹² "Letter of Rev. John J. Zubly, of Savannah, Ga.," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings for 1864-1865* (hereafter referred to as "Letter of Zubly"), VIII, 215-16; J. H. Campbell, *Georgia Baptists: Historical and Biographical*

thousand inhabitants of the parish, only eight hundred professed affiliation with the Church of England, and only fifty were actually communicants. But by 1771, Savannah, the metropolis of the parish and of the province, was becoming a stronghold of Anglicanism; more than one-half of its population was affiliated with the Church of England.¹³ The parish of St. John, with its important port of Sunbury, was a stronghold of the dissenters. The church wardens of the parish, writing in the mid-year, 1771, complained that for three or four years there had been no clergyman of the Church of England to perform services, and that those who professed the established religion were too few in number to maintain a clergyman without assistance.¹⁴

Within the borders of St. George's parish were Baptists, Presbyterians, and a large number of Quakers.¹⁵ The Reverend James Seymour, Anglican missionary in the parish of St. Paul, visited the parish of St. George in 1772 and described the people as poor and therefore unable to provide for a regular minister without assistance. He reported that parts of the parish were being overrun "by a set of ignorant Preachers, who call themselves (and indeed not improperly) *irregular Baptists*." They traveled from place to place and pretended miraculous conversion and immediate inspiration. They had "no Appointment or Ordination from any Society of Christians whatever, yet notwithstanding they presume to administer the Sacrament of Baptism to Adults, often plunging their Deluded Hearers into the Rivers and Creeks in these frontier Settlements; and draw off many weak People, from the Established Church."¹⁶ The Reverend John Holmes, the regular missionary of the S. P. G. in St. George's parish, wrote in 1774 that of about four hundred families there, one-half of them

(Richmond, 1847), 9-10; *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia* (Atlanta, 1881), 11-12; letter from Frink to Dr. Burton, January 4, 1769, in S. P. G. Documents; H. S. Bowden, *History of Savannah Methodism from John Wesley to Silas Johnson* (Macon, Georgia, 1929), 44.

13 Letter from Zouberbuhler, March 14, 1763. See S. P. G. Journals, July 15, 1763, vol. XV, pt. 3, p. 403; letter from Frink, July 8, 1771, in S. P. G. Journals, October 18, 1771, vol. XIX, pt. 1, p. 123.

14 Letter of July 2, 1771, in S. P. G. Documents.

15 C. R., X, 432, 553-54, 690; John Asplund, *The Annual Register of the Baptist Denomination, in North-America* (n. p., c. 1791), 44; *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*, 23; James Stacy, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia* (n. p., c. 1912), 3; "Letter of Zubly," *loc. cit.*, 215; *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1904), 361-62, 375, 422.

16 Letter to Dr. Burton, August 24, 1772, in S. P. G. Documents.

were Presbyterians; but he, too, declared that most of the religious knowledge of the people was acquired from "a parcel of illiterate Anabaptist preachers with which the back-parts of this province are a good Deal infested, and who by their enthusiastic rant have obtained I fear, but too great influence amongst those whose want of Discernment often leads them to mistake sound for sense."¹⁷

The progress of Anglicanism in St. Paul's parish was hindered by lack of harmony among the missionaries themselves and by the presence there, as in other parishes, of a number of Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, and "Methodists."¹⁸ Frink, appointed to the parish in 1763, ever mindful of the interests of the church, ever contumacious and headstrong, willingly spared neither his fellow missionaries nor his dissenting brethren. He fretted that "the lower sort" of that part of the province had "no religion at all," and that public worship was kept up only by a few gentlemen and their families.¹⁹ He was troubled by "many Ignorant Baptist Exhorters that Stroll about the Country, who are infamous Rascals, yet lead many astray; who tho' they can scarce read their Horn-Book, yet invade the Priesthood so far as to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in some Places to their deluded hearers, & very often are plunging their Converts in the River Savannah, which they are pleased to call the River Jordan &c."²⁰ As late as 1773 the Church of England could claim only two-fifths of the inhabitants of St. Paul's.²¹

It is apparent from the foregoing that the lack of harmony among the sects after the establishment of the Church of England was appreciable.²² Anglicanism, protected by law, seeking inviolability by sanction, time, and aggressive missionary

17 Letter of February 1, 1774. See S. P. G. Journals, May 20, 1774, vol. XX, pt. 2, pp. 143-44.

18 See especially, S. P. G. Journals, May 21, 1773, vol. XIX, pt. 3, p. 418; April 15, 1774, vol. XX, pt. 2, pp. 129-30; letter from Frink to Burton, April 9, 1766, in S. P. G. Documents.

19 S. P. G. Journals, September 20, 1765, vol. XVI, pt. 4, p. 425.

20 Letter from Frink to Burton, April 9, 1766, in S. P. G. Documents.

21 Letter from Seymour, March 1, 1773. See S. P. G. Journals, May 21, 1773, vol. XIX, pt. 3, p. 418.

22 It must be clear that the dissenters were by no means a unit. See, in this connection, a letter from Zubly to Stiles, April 19, 1769, quoted in George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina* (Columbia, 1870), I, 361; "Letter of Zubly," *loc. cit.*, 215, 219; *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), I, 236 (entry of May 16, 1772).

endeavor, was sorely threatened by the large dissenting groups and by rifts within its own ranks. The relationship of the dissenters to the civil establishment and to the religious establishment was a constantly conscious and often a vexing one. On the whole, the dissenters probably fared better within the jurisdiction of the civil establishment than in the sight of the religious establishment. Their relations with the civil government may be conveniently considered with regard to offices, laws, finances, lands, and petitions.

Affiliation with the Established Church was not necessarily designed to be a qualification for political preferment and official position in the province. But it is interesting to observe that from a list of leading provincial officials in the period 1763-1775, chosen somewhat at random,²³ a great number were Anglicans. It is admitted, of course, that dissenters may have participated in managing the government, but the evidence for ascertaining their number and influence is lacking. John Joachim Zubly, minister of the Independent Presbyterian Church in Savannah, wrote Ezra Stiles in 1773 that about one-third of the present house of representatives were dissenters, and that dissenters who took the oath were capable of all offices.²⁴

In the realm of laws, there were none absolutely abridging religious liberty, but there were some statutes which the dissenters thought worked hardship upon them. In civil and criminal causes and in qualifying for the assembly, they were obliged to swear by the Bible. On one occasion Zubly appeared in court as an interpreter and was requested to take a voluntary oath. He insisted that the law did not require him to kiss the Book, but only to hold it. Two judges differed in opinion, but the chief acquiesced, and Zubly thus took the oath by holding the Book, "which," he said, "may & doubtless will now be pleaded as a precedent."²⁵ By a tax act of 1761, and by one of 1773, all clergymen were exempted from taxation, and by the act of 1773, all lands whereon churches or other buildings for divine worship or for charitable purposes were erected, as

²³ See S. P. G. Documents; the *Georgia Gazette*; James Wright, "Report," and his letters of the period in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1873), III, 157ff. (hereafter referred to as *G. H. S. Colls.*)

²⁴ "Letter of Zubly," *loc. cit.*, 216.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

well as all lands, slaves, and monies belonging or appertaining to such buildings were exempted from taxation.²⁶

For perpetuation of the Church of England, the government used the influence of the officials and the churches and that of the school teachers as well. Funds were necessary for this end, and they were secured in a number of ways. Some Anglican ministers had a direct allowance from the crown; the assembly, by necessary acts, assisted the local parishioners in securing and maintaining clergymen. The amount allowed ranged from twenty-five pounds sterling a year to fifty pounds sterling.²⁷ Sometimes part of the annual parliamentary appropriation for the colony was used for support of the church's ministers and schoolmasters.²⁸

The provincial government was very fair in its land grants to Anglicans and dissenters. Two thousand acres were granted in 1765 to George Whitefield for his proposed college at Bethesda.²⁹ Seven hundred acres were granted to the Presbyterians in St. Andrew's parish in 1767, and four years later, when five hundred acres were set aside as a glebe for the use of a clergyman of the Church of England in that parish, five hundred acres were also surveyed and reserved as a glebe for the use of a Presbyterian minister, when one should settle there.³⁰ Numerous grants were made from time to time to the Quakers in answer to their petitions. Grants were frequently made to individual clergymen of every creed, and customarily building lots and burial grounds were given to congregations irrespective of denomination.³¹

Petitions and memorials respecting grievances of the non-Anglican groups received on the whole little attention. But some of the bolder and more persistent dissenters in the early

26 *C. R.*, XIII, 535, 567, 579, 583; vol. XIX, pt. 1, p. 453.

27 Letter from Frink to Burton, January 7, 1768, in *S. P. G. Documents*; letter from the church wardens and vestrymen of St. Paul's parish, March 24, 1763, in *ibid.* See also, *C. R.*, IX, 341-42; X, 119.

28 See petition from the church wardens and vestrymen of the parish of St. Paul to the *S. P. G. Committee* in London, dated February 8, 1762, in *S. P. G. Documents*. See also, P. S. Flippin, "The Royal Government in Georgia, 1752-1776," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IX (September, 1925), 190.

29 Letter from Whitefield to Mr. S—S—, January 14, 1765, in *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield* (London, 1771), III, 320.

30 *C. R.*, X, 280-81; XI, 304.

31 *Ibid.*, IX, 144; X, 351-52, 432, 553-54, 690, 695; XI, 4; "Letter of Zubly," *loc. cit.*, 215.

1770's obliged the defenders of "our most holy Religion"³² to wage "little Battles" to prevent the "Church's being overturned . . . by its Enemies," enemies "so far intoxicated with Liberty Principles, [rather Libertine] as to endeavour to put Jews & Dissenters of all denominations upon a footing with the Church here established."³³ The long struggle of the Jews in Savannah to secure a burying ground was one bitter conflict of the period. Their petition of March 8, 1770, to the assembly to confirm the allotment made by Oglethorpe on the Savannah common for a place to bury their dead, and to add to that allotment what was thought proper, finally received the sanction of the house, but the council, less able to withstand the cries of certain inhabitants that such a concession would reduce the value of their town lots, postponed a decision until the following June.³⁴ About the same time Zubly and his congregation were involved in a similar struggle over a burial ground. The house favored Zubly, but when he and Frink, the rector of Christ Church parish, appeared before the council, it was decided to postpone the matter until the June meeting. But there was no June meeting and the protests went unattended.³⁵

The opposition of certain Presbyterians to Anglican schoolmasters was one more indication of dissatisfaction and apprehension among the dissenters, and disregard of their address of grievance was another illustration of the determination of the civil administration, obviously influenced by the clergy, to favor and foster Anglicanism. The inhabitants of Queensborough, in 1773, petitioned against obtaining a teacher of the Established Church in the lower part of the parish of St. George, because they imagined they would be oppressed by an increase in their taxes for his support. These petitioners declared they had already subscribed for the expense of a teacher to reside among them, and therefore asked that the house prevent an imposition upon them from taking place, either by dividing the parish or by constituting the part where they resided into a separate district, "thereby enabling them (with-

32 *C. R.*, XVII, 573.

33 Frink to Burton, July 6, 1770, S. P. G. Documents.

34 *C. R.*, XV, 145-46, 151-54, 165-66, 172; XVII, 572-575.

35 *Ibid.*, XVII, 559-63; "Letter of Zubly," *loc. cit.*, 217. "We now bury in the same Ground unmolested," Zubly wrote, "& pay no fees except to the sexton, which I have consented to pay whenever his attendance should be required, & not otherwise."

out Subjecting them to the inconveniences which they now daily meet with) to have teachers and places of worship together with a Court of Conscience amongst them. . . ."³⁶ The petition was tabled.

If on the whole the dissenters fared reasonably well in the sight of the civil government, their position in relation to the Anglican clergymen was somewhat unfavorable. There were glimmerings of liberality in regard to the contacts of the two groups, it is true, but evidence of antagonism between them is more abundant. Trivial occurrences—the refusal of a pulpit, the resentment of a dissenting congregation arising from what it called "Episcopal oppression," and the ministers' general practice of defaming their fellow preachers, within and without the fold of Anglicanism—all were annoying and disagreeable.³⁷ How small problems could irk the dissenters Zubly well described in a letter to Ezra Stiles in 1773:

I don't know whether it is any hardship that no Church Minister yet accepted of an Invitation to be present at our funerals. Mr. Frinck refused to walk with a dissenter in church funerals, & it once happened to me that I was oblig'd to speak at my own Child's Grave, because the Rector, whom I had invited & expected, as being my particular friend, did not choose to attend. Mr. Frinck would not suffer an unbaptiz'd child of an Antipoedobaptist to be interred in the burying Ground, but the father of it thought it would do as well to bury it within any private Inclosure . . . A Fee was demanded of dissenters for tolling the Bell, when the church Bell was neither desir'd to be toll'd nor did go at all. A Suit was commenced in which the Rector personally appeared, which was carried so far as to issue & make out an Execution against the defendant's Body, some time after the defendant had been buried. I was in hopes what I published would put a stop to such Proceedings, but the cause was brought on again. I appeared myself in behalf of a poor Widow, one of my hearers, protested against the authority & Jurisdiction of that Court to try any such matters; the Court sneer'd at me, & dropt the Action.—A letter from our agent, Dr. Franklin, to our Speaker, & I believe Rector also, will I hope for ever prevent the Revival of any such Claims . . . There has been a good deal of difficulty about marrying; we were indeed, never interrupted to marry with a previous Publication of the Bañs, but the established Clergy hitherto seem to claim the Privilege of marrying by Licence, entirely to themselves. I am not fond of that method, but considering what I did or omitted would be pleaded as a Precedent, I thought it proper, as far as in me lay, to secure the same Liberty to dissenters.³⁸

36 "Letter of Zubly," *loc. cit.*, 215; *C. R.*, XV, 473.

37 *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 30; *S. P. G. Journals*, vol. XVIII, pt. 4, p. 443; letters from Frink to Burton, June 29, 1769, July 8, 1771, in *S. P. G. Documents*.

38 "Letter of Zubly," *loc. cit.*, 216-18. Frink once offered to endorse licenses for Zubly in return for half of the fee. *Ibid.*, 218.

But not all the circumstances thwarting an approach to harmony among the religious sects in Georgia were provincial. The question of external ecclesiastical control was a serious one, which affected in one way or another every colony along the coast. The great controversy which was waged with strong invective in New England had reverberations in Georgia. Some ministers of Anglicanism there joined their fellow clergymen in a strong demand for outside authority and control of the affairs of the church. George Whitefield and Commissary Alexander Garden in the 1740's participated in a heated conflict which grew out of this problem of the church's jurisdiction.³⁹ In the 1760's, when the proposal for an American bishop was being discussed, many of the Episcopal clergymen and not a few members of the Anglican church showed no particular zeal for the measure.⁴⁰

But rector Frink, always the aggressive spokesman, argued long and loud in behalf of American episcopal control. He wrote Dr. Burton, June 29, 1769:

We have good, & wholesome Laws in this Province—But what does this Signify, if they are never put in Execution?—The Church of England is Established by Law, and that Law is Confirmed by the King—But all this is of no avail, unless some Person is invested with more Power, than a Poor Missionary commonly has, in order to inspect these things more narrowly, to see that the Church is not neglected amidst the Bustle, & Noise of Politicks—and that the Clergy are not imposed upon by those who delight in destroying all Order both in Church, & State—.⁴¹

There was need of a person with power to supervise the interests of Anglicanism; there was also a need to preserve the close consonancy between the provincial government and the church. Frink argued that it was impossible for the one to suffer without the other. An American bishop would give support to the existing system and its continuance would be

³⁹ For details, see A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902), 80-86, 312-15; Luke Tyerman, *The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield* (London, 1876), I, 357-364, 395-406.

⁴⁰ See letters from Zubly to Stiles, October 10, 1768, April 19, 1769, in Howe, *op. cit.*, I, 361-62. While Zubly was at the Continental Congress in 1775, he visited William Tennent, President Witherspoon, and Dr. Livingston. On August 25 (?), Zubly recorded in his journal that he breakfasted with Dr. Livingston, who gave him "a Charge as a delegate to be attentive to the religious Liberty of A—a thought it probable this was a design of Part [?] in my being sent to the Congress." Manuscript Journal of the Rev^d. John Joachim Zubly (in the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah).

⁴¹ Letter in S. P. G. Documents.

assured.⁴² It was strange to the rector that the Church of England should not be entitled to as great privileges in America as the dissenters had; those who professed to be members of the Established Church were at great expense and risk of life to obtain orders, "when those of a Different Persuasion enjoy every Privilege whatsoever with regard to their way." As a final argument, and perhaps the most natural of all, Frink advocated an American bishop with the hope of preventing the supremacy of the dissenters:

Why should these Schismatics frighten a whole Nation with their Blustering? . . . Why all this Clamour, & noise with regard to sending a Bishop to America? Nothing surely less than consummate Impudence, & a desire to be in the Saddle, that they may Ride over us, as they have always endeavoured to do both in Church, & State—God preserve us from such Masters!—Certainly we should have more Order amongst us, if we could have proper Government. We should have perhaps more deserving Clergymen than have sometimes been in these parts, who have served for the purpose of bringing the Ministry into disgrace, & for the Triumph of Dissenters—I dare say could this—of sending a Bishop to America, once be accomplished, a man of Calmness & deliberation, not vigorous, but easy of access, & of an exemplary deportment, many Hundreds that now vociferate in Conventicles, would be turned from their Errors, & see their Vileness in rending the seamless [*sic*] Garment of their Saviour— . . . If the thing that I have been mentioning could once be accomplished, we should in a great measure be freed from the gross Impositions of every pragmatcal Genius. We should then be freed from, & keep at a distance, Coblers & Tinkers, Butchers, & Bakers, Watchmakers, & Cattle-hunters Thieves, & Robbers, & very Vagrant, in such manner as not to dare to assume the sacred Character of the Priesthood—They would be then kept from leading astray the Ignorant, & Unwary, from the Truths, & from endeavouring to overthrow that little Order, that now scarcely subsists amongst us.—⁴³

But important as was the question of external ecclesiastical control, it was not the only problem contributing to the dissatisfaction and irritation and apprehension which characterized the the religious situation in the province for more than two decades before the Revolution. It is difficult, however, to find much specific evidence that religious issues were important in the arguments for union against England, for opposition to royal control, and for independence from Great Britain. There appears, moreover, to have been little or no bargaining between those anxious for absolute religious liberty and those controlling

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

or hoping to control the civil organization. This is explained, in part at least, by the fact that the personnel of those seeking political control was by no means all Anglican, and not all the dissenting sects were a unit in opposing Great Britain.

Opposition to the establishment of Roman Catholicism was one very specific grievance. Uneasiness in Georgia was perceptible. It was first discernible in a newspaper controversy carried on between "A Freeholder" (probably Zubly, for he wrote under that name) and "Mercurius" (Haddon Smith) in the autumn of 1774, when a dispute arose over the question of revoking charters.⁴⁴ The measures taken concerning Quebec and the administration of the French territory west of the Mississippi River caused some of the uneasiness. The Georgia moderates and radicals considered these measures when they worked up arguments for opposition to England, and one of their committees, meeting in Savannah on September 17, 1774, warned all who had dissented to resolutions passed at a recent meeting that "Popery and French laws are now established in one province in America, a river parts French despotism and the rights of the British Constitution. . . . We have now lived to see the British inhabitants of the largest province in [?] America deprived of the Constitution, Popery erected over their heads. . . ." ⁴⁵ Other protests against these measures were made by the assembly in January, 1775, in a petition of the provincial congress to the king, July 14, 1775, and by Zubly in a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, September 3, 1775.⁴⁶

There were still other grievances of a religious nature. A study of the constitution of 1777 shows that the revolutionists did not fail to enumerate every possible reason for dissatisfaction. The constitution is a definite index of feeling; it indicates that resentment toward the Established Church was keen, whether or not it was fully expressed before. The fifty-sixth article declared that "All persons whatever shall have the free exercise of their religion; provided it be not repugnant to the peace and safety of the state; and shall not, unless they consent, support any teacher, or teachers, except those of their

⁴⁴ *The Georgia Gazette* (September 14, 1774).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* (September 21, 1774).

⁴⁶ A. D. Candler (comp.), *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1908), I, 53, 265 (hereafter referred to as *Rev. Recs.*); Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives* (Washington, 1840), series IV, vol. III, col. 635.

own profession." Other articles provided that the old parishes should be superseded by counties; that every representative in the legislature should be "of the protestant religion"; that an affirmation might be substituted for an oath in the case of persons entitled to vote; and that no clergyman of any denomination should be allowed a seat in the legislature.⁴⁷ In the Revolution proper the treatment or rather maltreatment of loyalist clergymen by those rebels who engineered the tactics of intimidation is another indication of the heat of feeling.

And when we turn from the revolutionary arguments to the actual alignment of the sects on the question of opposition to Great Britain and their actual participation in the conflict, we have one more interesting and somewhat perplexing aspect of the whole religious struggle in the province. It would be foolish to contend that religion was the sole motivating force that led men to fight for freedom; it would be equally foolish to contend that the same force induced men to stand steadfastly for the Church of England, the king, and parliament, and everything else British. But surely religion in Georgia was not free; on the other hand, established religion was not a particular safeguard against the onslaughts of the unrighteous. Religion, with all its accompanying distresses about freedom and toleration, was not an isolated force compelling or staying the Revolution. It was an integral part of the whole mass of dissatisfaction, irritation, and apprehension which made change necessary and desirable; the established religion was an integral part of the creaking philosophy that spent its vitality in seeking to preserve the *status quo*.

No sect, except perhaps the Congregationalists, Quakers, and Jews, was nearly a unit in the choice between allegiance and revolution. The Anglicans split; so did the Lutherans and Baptists. There is no reason, however, to believe that the factions which adhered to the Revolution and those which did not banded to form opposing parties.⁴⁸

The participation of the Anglicans in the revolutionary organization and the war is revealing and is illustrative of similar rifts in the ranks of the Lutherans and Baptists. Families split; father and sons opposed one another. Joseph and John

⁴⁷ The text of the constitution is in *Rev. Recs.*, I, 282ff.

⁴⁸ The situation in Georgia was much unlike that in Pennsylvania. Geographical intermixture may have hindered strong combinations in Georgia.

Habersham, sons of James Habersham, long a leading provincial official and devoted follower of his king, became Sons of Liberty; Joseph Clay, their first cousin, became a member of the council of safety and of important committees of the provincial congress; Noble Wymberly Jones, son of Noble Jones, faithful to England, was one of Georgia's representatives in the Continental Congress and later became a member of the council of safety. Some of his majesty's councilors, Anglicans, joined the Revolution; other councilors remained loyal.

The Congregationalists were almost to a man for the Revolution. The importance of a little group in St. John's parish, which Governor Wright declared still retained "a strong tincture of Republican or Oliverian principles,"⁴⁹ was remarkable. From the Midway Congregationalists came several members of the provincial congress and several members of the council of safety. This congregation produced many commissioned officers in the rebel army and civil officers under the revolutionary régime.

If Governor Wright can be believed, the Quakers were loyal. He wrote Lord Germain, March 9, 1781, that "The Quakers in this Province in general my Lord have behaved very well & shewn their Loyalty & attachment to Government, for which reason some of them Suffered a long Imprisonment in Charles Town & many have been Plundered & almost Ruined by the Rebels of this Province. . . ."⁵⁰ Earlier, in 1774, some Quakers had objected to opposition measures taken by the province, and one of their leaders refused to take his seat as a member of the provincial congress.⁵¹

Many Jews were among the leading rebels. "I judged it also Necessary to prevent the Jews who formerly resided here from Returning or others from Coming to Settle here," Wright reported in 1781. "For these People my Lord were found to a Man to have been violent Rebels & Persecutors of the King's Loyal Subjects. . . ."⁵² One prominent Jew of the province was appointed commissary by the president of the council of safety to provide supplies for the companies of men on duty

⁴⁹ Letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, April 24, 1775, in George White, *Historical Collections of Georgia* (third ed.; New York, 1855), 523.

⁵⁰ "Letters from Sir James Wright," *G. H. S. Colls.*, III, 342.

⁵¹ *Rev. Recs.*, I, 27-29, 230.

⁵² Letter to Lord Germain, March 9, 1781, in "Letters from Sir James Wright," *loc. cit.*, 341.

in and around Savannah. Some Jews also received commissions in the rebel army.⁵³

Thus were the religious issues closely tied to other social issues, to political issues, economic grievances, and constitutional principles. Altogether the years 1758-1777 were in the Georgia history years of confusion. Many conditions contributed to the general ferment and upheaval of society. The description of the Georgia situation is significant; the confusion there was not unique; though of course local conditions made variations possible and inevitable, confusion was characteristic of the revolutionary movement as a whole. To understand the situation in Georgia is to understand the variety and complexity of problems and conditions in the movement throughout the colonies.

53 *G. H. S. Colls.*, vol. V, pt. 1, pp. 4, 30, 70.

THE ANTHROPOMORPHIC CONTROVERSY IN THE TIME OF THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA

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It was the long-established custom of the Alexandrian patriarch to write each year a paschal letter to the faithful of his province. In the letter of the year 399 the Patriarch Theophilus, an ecclesiastic of great ability but few scruples, inveighed rather severely against those who taught that God was corporeal, or in other words that God had bodily form. This opinion was by no means extraordinary. For over two centuries Alexandria had been the leading center of Christian theology, and for a much longer period a pre-eminent seat of philosophic learning as well. The repudiation of anthropomorphic conceptions of God had long been a matter of common acceptance by pagan and Christian theologians alike who laid any claim to a liberal education.

The letter of Theophilus did not receive, however, a very cordial welcome among the monks of the lower Egyptian deserts. The phenomenal growth of the monks in numbers and their renowned reputation for piety had for some years been exciting the interest of people all over the Christian world. Among the pilgrims visiting these desert saints just at this particular time was the Westerner Cassian, with his companion Germanus. Cassian heard the letter of Theophilus read at Scete just a few days after his first conference with Abbot Isaac, and noted that the majority of the monks received the message of their patriarch "with bitterness," and charged Theophilus with heresy for impugning the plain teaching of Holy Scripture. None of the elders of Scete would let it be read in the assemblies except Abbot Paphnutius.¹ As there were four churches for assemblies of monks in Scete, we may judge the extent of the opposition.

So disturbed were the monks that they proceeded in a body

¹ *Collationes* x. 2. Other principal sources for the controversy are Soerates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, vi, 7, 9; Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, viii, 11-13.

to Alexandria, where they stirred up a tumult against the patriarch and even threatened to kill him. Theophilus was a clever politician, and with characteristic adroitness he appeared before them in a conciliatory manner, saying "When I look at you, I behold the face of God." This mollified the monkish mob to some extent. They informed him that if he really believed God's countenance to be like theirs, he must anathematize Origen's theology. To save himself and break up the mob, Theophilus unhesitatingly complied. It was very probably this tumultuous scene which was described by Sulpitius Severus² who said that crowded synods passed decrees that no one should read or possess the works of Origen. Ultimately, the prefect of the city was called in to quell the disturbance and restore order, and, according to Sulpitius, the monks had to flee.

The issue of the controversy is well-known. Theophilus found his forced condemnation of Origenism a convenient excuse for his designs against four former friends, the so-called "Tall Brothers," who were monks at Nitria—Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius. He wrote to the monks again affirming this time that he believed God to be corporeal, and denouncing Dioscorus and his associates for teaching the opposite and being followers of Origen. It was not difficult to stir up violence when tempers were so heated. With an armed force the patriarch went out to Nitria, and in the face of this, Dioscorus' group had to flee. They went first to Palestine, then in company with Isidore proceeded to Constantinople. Their reception by St. Chrysostom, then patriarch at Constantinople, started another quarrel, which ended ultimately in St. Chrysostom's downfall. But this story needs no retelling here.

An interesting sidelight on the whole affair is found in a Coptic fragment of a *Vita* of one Aphou, a monk of Oxyrhyncus.³ The story relates that when Aphou heard

² *Dialogus*, i, 6-7; cf. Jerome, *Epistolae*, 92.

³ First published by Francesco Rossi with Italian translation in "Trascrizione di tre Manoscritti copti del Museo egizio di Torino con Traduzione italiana," (*Memorie della reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, scienze, morale, storiche e filologiche*), Serie II, Tom XXXVII (1886), 67-84, 145-150. I have used the edition with French translation by Etienne Drioton, "La Discussion d'un Moine anthropomorphe audien avec le Patriarche Théophile d'Alexandrie en l'Année 399," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, XX (1915-17), 92-100, 113-128. Drioton (p. 93) considers the work to be genuine.

Theophilus' paschal letter read, he objected to his saying, "No, our feebleness is not God's image." He thereupon proceeded to Alexandria, where after some delay he was received by the patriarch. Aphou claimed that the letter contradicted the teaching of Genesis 1:26 and 9:16, and related to Theophilus the following parable: There was a king who had an artist paint his picture. Everyone agreed that the portrait was the image of the king; yet, in reality, it was not of the same material as the king, and did not have actually the eyes, ears, nose and other features of the king. Theophilus declared himself convinced by the argument of the monk, and wrote a letter in retraction of his original views (evidently the letter he wrote against Dioscorus). Drioton, who published the fragment, is of the opinion that Theophilus simply used this monk as the "dupe" for his public *volte-face*. Aphou was his tool in his scheme against the "Tall Brothers." However that may be, the interest of the story, as Drioton has well pointed out, lies in the more refined and attractive presentation of the anthropomorphic heresy by Aphou through his use of the parable of the king. He believes the Fathers suppressed this aspect of the heresy and reported it as one of extreme Scriptural literalness.

The theology of Origen seems to have been a storm center of early monastic life. One recalls, for example, that St. Pachomius, the legislator of monasticism in Upper Egypt, recommended to his brother monks not to read Origen or even to listen to his books read by others. For many monks were illiterate and dependent upon others to read religious literature to them; the Scriptures they knew as a rule sufficiently by heart. On one occasion, St. Pachomius is said to have thrown into the water a book of Origen's which he found, and would have thrown it in the fire if it had not contained in it the name of God.⁴

The whole controversy, and particularly the battle over Origen, becomes illuminated if one sees in it a problem arising out of monastic habits and views concerning worship. The worship experience cherished by the Egyptian monks was that of mystic contemplation and vision of God, achieved by strin-

⁴ *Vita altera graeca Sancti Pachomii*, 27 (ed. Halkin, 195); *Paralipomena*, 7 (ed. Halkin, 131-2). See also the discussion of H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi'n Natrûn*. Part II: *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1932), 125-32.

gent self-mortification in order to free the spirit from all distractions of earthly concerns and entanglements in sensual delights so that it might occupy itself fully with heavenly things; and by the systematic cultivation of devotions, both public and private, of psalm-singing, prayers, and meditation upon the Scriptures, which should fill the mind and heart with thoughts appropriate to their spiritual quest. Such mystical worship presupposed a conception of God as utterly alien to all material and earthly things, totally invisible, immaterial, unbegotten, ineffable and, of course, incorporeal. This religious outlook was by no means peculiar to the Christian monks. It pervaded the philosophy of the day. Its classic expression in the pagan world had been made some 150 years before the time of this controversy at the hands of Plotinus, and at the same time it appeared in Christian theology in the work of Plotinus' friend and fellow-Alexandrian, namely, Origen. Since Origen figured so prominently in the controversy under discussion it may be well to quote a few salient passages from his works. His point of view could be duplicated in many other writers and thinkers, both pagan and Christian. It should be noted that such mystical worship demanded an allegorical interpretation of Scripture, in order to assist one in gaining "spiritual" insights.

For what intelligent man will not smile at one who, with so great and so many words about god and gods in philosophy, looks upon images and indeed sends up to them prayer or imagines that by looking upon these visible things one can ascend from the seen and symbolic to the intelligible? But even the common Christian has believed that every place in the world is a part of the universe, the whole world being the temple of God: praying "in every place," shutting the eyes of sense and awakening those of the soul, he rises above the whole world. Nor does he stop at the vault of heaven, but coming in mind to the place above the heavens, guided by the divine Spirit, and, as it were, obtaining a place beyond the world, he sends up prayer to God, but not for chance things; for he has learned from Jesus to seek nothing base, i.e. sensible, but only the great things and truly divine, such things being given by God to lead to that blessedness which is from Him through His Son the Word, who is God.⁵

When, then, our mind's eye is thus uplifted so that we are no longer preoccupied with things of the earth nor filled with images derived from material things and are solely occupied with the thought of God, we converse reverently and modestly with Him who listens to us.⁶

It is needful to warn those who yearn to lead a spiritual life in Christ that they should not ask for trifling nor merely worldly things when they

⁵ *Contra Celsum*, vii, 44.

⁶ *De oratione*, 9 (trans. Pope).

pray; rather I would exhort readers of this treatise to pray for those mystic things of which we have but types in the things of which I have been speaking. Now prayer for the said spiritual or mystic things is only perfected in him who wars not according to the flesh, but who through the Spirit puts to death the things of the flesh, and who makes far more account of what the anagogical sense (of Holy Scripture) will reveal to those who seek it than of any reward which the literal sense (of Scripture) may suggest as likely to accrue to those who pray. For we must be careful lest our souls should prove sterile; rather, then, should we listen with spiritual ears to the spiritual law so that we may cease to be sterile but may be heard as were Anna and Ezechias.⁷

When Theophilus, to save himself, denounced Origen and those monks who followed his teaching, "such as had a cultivated mind," said the historian Socrates, "were not beguiled by this plausibility, and therefore still adhere to Dioscorus and Origen."⁸ Some monks indeed were well-educated and widely read in theology. It will be recalled that the Scetic abbot Paphnutius allowed the paschal letter of Theophilus which had condemned anthropomorphism to be read in the assemblies, though none of the other elders did so. This abbot undoubtedly agreed with the opinions represented in the letter, for Cassian in his *Conferences* reported him as having said:

We shall succeed in reaching the perfection, whenever our soul is subdued by no stain of carnal coarseness, but, all such having been carefully eliminated, it has been freed from every earthly quality and desire, and by constant meditation on things Divine and spiritual contemplation has so far passed to the things unseen, that in its earnest seeking after things above and things spiritual it no longer feels that it is imprisoned in this fragile flesh, and bodily form, but is caught up into such an ecstasy as not only to hear no words with the outward ear, or to busy itself with gazing on the forms of things present, but not even to see things close at hand, or large objects straight before the very eyes.⁹

Others under whom Cassian received spiritual instruction, notably Abbots Moses and Isaac, had very much the same point of view about meditation and contemplation of things divine. The latter said:

Our mind will reach that incorruptible prayer . . . [which] is not merely not engaged in gazing on any image, but is actually distinguished by the use of no words or utterances; but with the purpose of the mind all on fire, is produced through ecstasy of heart by some unaccountable keenness of spirit, and the mind being thus affected without the aid of the senses

⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸ *Hist. eccl.*, vi, 9.

⁹ *Coll.*, iii, 7 (trans. Gibson).

or any visible material pours it forth to God with groanings and sighs that cannot be uttered.¹⁰

Abbot Moses spoke of such worship: "the soul, soaring above all things visible, is actually joined to the word of God by the contemplation of heavenly things."¹¹

The hermit John, described in the *Historia Monachorum* ascribed to Rufinus, was an opponent of anthropomorphism. He is reported as having said:

We can, in so far as is possible, even see God, and when praying, direct the eye of our heart towards him, and see the invisible with the mind, but not the body: by the discernment of the understanding, not in the appearance of the flesh. For no one should think that he can look upon the divine nature itself such as it is, so that he may form for himself some form or image in his heart of any corporeal likeness. No form of God should be pondered, no limits, but the sense and feeling, and the mind which can indeed feel it and seize the mood of the mind, nevertheless cannot comprehend or describe, or avail to narrate it.¹²

A similar point of view found expression in the Syriac recension of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*:

B.[rother] How ought a man to see the order of the divine vision?

O.[ld] M.[an] The Scriptures have shewn [him how].

B. How?

O. M. Daniel saw Him as the Ancient of Days. And EZEKIEL saw Him on the chariot of the CHERUBIM. And ISAIAH saw Him upon a lofty and glorious throne. And MOSES persisted in being with Him Who cannot be seen, as if he saw Him.

B. And how can the mind see that which cannot be seen?

O. M. A king cannot be seen, as far as his exact image is concerned, when he is sitting on the throne.

B. And is it right for a man to depict God in this manner?

O. M. And which is the better for a man, to depict God in his mind in this manner, or to bow himself down to many abominable thoughts?

B. Peradventure this is accounted as sin?

O. M. No. Only thou must hold according to what the Scriptures have shewn [thee], and the fulfilment of the matter will come of itself, even as the Apostle said, "Now as in a miracle, we see in parable, but then face to face," the meaning of which is as if a man were to say, "When the mind hath been made perfect, then it will be able to see with ease and freedom."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, x, 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iii, 6.

¹² (*P. L.*, XXI, 397).

B. And is there no confusion in the mind in respect of this?

O. M. If a man performeth his strife in truth there will be no confusion in the mind . . .¹³

One of the most distinguished men among the Egyptian monks was one Evagrius, a native of Pontus, who came to Egypt in 383 at the suggestion of the lady Melania. He had formerly been a preacher in the city of Constantinople, whither Gregory of Nyssa took him after his ordination. But a serious temptation which endangered his virginity had caused him to flee from the capital city to Palestine. Evagrius was a zealous student of Origen and much of his thought was taken from him.¹⁴ He divided the way of piety into the "practical," whose aim was apathy, and the "theoretical," which aimed at knowledge of God (*Gnosis*). That is to say, the world of sense must be divested before knowledge of God could be reached by contemplation. A few quotations will be sufficient to show his point of view.

Whenever the mind, having put off the old man, would put on that of grace, then it shall see its own peace at the time of prayer, like to a sapphire or heavenly color, which the Scriptures also call the place of God, having been seen by the elders on Mount Sinai. The mind would not see the place of God in itself, except it had become raised above all external things. And it will not be above them unless it has put off the passions which bind it through perceptions to the senses. And the passions will be put away by the exercise of virtues, and foolish reasonings by spiritual contemplation; and that again, when the light shines upon it, that light which marks out the place of God at the time of prayer.¹⁵

Those who seek to see the things of the body need a pure mind; and to see the incorporeal, of overmuch purity, rather than much; if we take upon ourselves to see the holy Trinity.¹⁶

The naked mind is that which has been perfected in seeing and is worthy of sharing in the contemplation of the holy Trinity.¹⁷

13 96, edited by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of Paradise* (London, 1904), II, 985-6.

14 See the exposition of his theology by W. Bousset, *Apophthegmata. Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchtums* (Tübingen, 1923), Part III; on his relation to Origen, see especially 292 ff. Also cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristliche Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker* (Göttingen, 1916), 124 ff. Jerome, *Epistolae*, 133, classed him as a heretic for his Origenism. A critical edition of the works of Evagrius is a desideratum.

15 *Practicus*, ii, 70-71 (*P. G.*, XL, 1244).

16 *Centuries*, v, 52 (edited by W. Frankenberg in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F., XIII, 2 [1912], 341).

17 *Ibid.*, iii, 6, (p. 193).

Evagrius died on Epiphany, 399. Had he lived a few more months, it is certain that he would have been involved in the controversy, for he was a great admirer of Origen.

Simple and unlettered monks found it difficult, if not impossible, to say their prayers and make their devotions on such a lofty plane of contemplation of purely spiritual and formless Being. Many of them, said Socrates—"most" of them, according to Sozomen—were unable to penetrate further than the literal word of the Scriptures, which, it must be remembered, were the sole material and content of the monks' worship. To them the words of Genesis 1:26 meant just what they said. Cassian told of such a simple monk named Sarapion. Abbot Paphnutius had requested Photinus, a learned deacon from Cappadocia who was sojourning in Scete at the time, to expound the meaning of Genesis 1:26. This he did, explaining that it must be taken in a "spiritual" sense; i. e., God's nature was "incorporeal, incomposite and simple" and could not be apprehended by the eyes or conceived by the mind. Sarapion declared himself convinced by Photinus' eloquence; for, said Cassian, he had erred "only because of ignorance and rustic simplicity." But when the assembly of monks arose to offer prayers, "the old man was so bewildered in mind during his prayer because he felt that the Anthropomorphic image of the Godhead which he used to set before himself in prayer, was banished from his heart, that on a sudden he burst into a flood of bitter tears and continual sobs, and cast himself down on the ground and exclaimed with strong groanings: 'Alas! wretched man that I am! they have taken away my God from me, and I have now none to lay hold of; and whom to worship and address I know not'."¹⁸

It should be noted that the name of this simple monk, Sarapion, indicates that he was a Copt. His name also recalls the non-Christian religious background of the native Egyptians, i.e. the Isis-Sarapis mysteries. He may be considered as typical of a large number, perhaps the great majority of monks living in the Egyptian deserts, who were either themselves converts from paganism to Christianity, or had come from homes which at one time or another had been attached to the native religion

¹⁸ *Coll.*, x, 3.

of Egypt. It was the custom in the temples of the Egyptian mysteries¹⁹ to display each day in the temple shrine the statue of the goddess Isis. At the daily matins service a priest, clad in white linen, drew back the curtain which veiled the image from the worshipers, while libations of holy Nile water were poured out and a fire kindled to purify the sanctuary. Then the priest, standing on the threshold of the shrine which contained the image, awakened the goddess by calling her name in the Egyptian language. A burnt offering was celebrated, accompanied with song. The stolist then robed the statue of the goddess and adorned it with jewels and the sistrum. The image was thus exposed to view during the day until the afternoon service, so that devout worshipers might come and offer their prayers and vows before it.²⁰

There was also in each temple an innermost shrine entered only by those initiated into the mysteries, where, if we interpret rightly the account of initiation given by Apuleius, one experienced the vision of a dazzling light.²¹ That this innermost room was without any image of the deity may be inferred not only from Apuleius, but also from an account which comes to us from the time of Claudius or Nero of a doctor of Tralles named Thessalus.²² Despairing of his failure at Alexandria, this physician supplicated the gods to come to his aid by sending him a dream or vision. At the temple of Asclepius (or Imhotep) at Thebes, an old priest promised to help him "have converse with the gods." He conducted Thessalus to a secluded place where for three days he was ordered to purify himself as a necessary condition for an evocation. On the third day he was conducted into a hall with an empty throne—evidently the innermost shrine of the temple. When the priest had pronounced the unutterable names of the god, the deity was produced and Thessalus was left "to converse with him 'alone to the alone.'" Whether one interprets this as an act of contem-

19 The Sarapeum at Alexandria is described in Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ii, 23; for the Iseum uncovered at Pompeii, see A. Moret, *Kings and Gods of Egypt* (New York, 1912), 156, and Plate XIII.

20 For the rite, Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, ix, 9, 20, 22; Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv, 9; Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, vii, 32; Servius, *In Aeneidem*, iv, 512; Moret, *op. cit.*, 158ff.; F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain* (4th ed.; Paris, 1929), 88ff.

21 Apuleius, *Metam.*, ix, 23ff.

22 Text in *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* (Bruxelles, 1898-), VIII, 3, 136, 16ff.; VIII, 4, 256, 20ff.

plation²³ or as a form of theurgic action,²⁴ it is a significant example of a direct vision of deity unmediated by any image.

We are thus in a position to appreciate the figures used by more sophisticated religious spirits, such as Plotinus, the founder of the Neoplatonic school, whom we have already noted as a contemporary and friend of Origen. The phrase "alone to the alone" was adopted by him as a characteristic expression to describe the highest experience of worship. In the summary of his philosophy, at the close of the *Enneades*, Plotinus stated that the *summum bonum* of the philosophic life was union with the Supreme, "not a vision compassed but a unity apprehended," and once this ascent was achieved there was "no movement, no passion, no outlooking desires." Even reason was in abeyance. "Caught away, filled with God, he has in perfect stillness attained isolation." It was "like one who, having penetrated the inner sanctuary, leaves the temple images behind him . . . for There his converse was not with image, not with trace, but with very Truth in view of which all the rest is but of secondary concern." "This is the life of gods and of the godlike and blessed among men, liberation from the alien that besets us here, a life taking no pleasure in the things of earth, the passing of solitary to solitary."²⁵

The sharp distinction drawn by Plotinus between those who stop to worship before the image in the inner shrine, and those who advance further into the innermost shrine where they contemplate without the aid of any visible or material form, illuminates a similar dichotomy in methods of worship among Christian monks. The unlearned, such as Sarapion and Aphou, who heard the Scripture read at the common assemblies of worship, understood Genesis 1:26 quite literally, and, picturing in their mind's eye their God in human form, offered their prayers to such an ideal image. Roughly speaking, this was

23 F. Cumont, "Le Culte égyptien et la Mysticisme de Plotin," *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Fondation Eugène Piot, XXV (1921), 77-92.

24 E. Peterson, "Herkunft und Bedeutung der MON ἰΠΟΣ ΜΟΝΟΝ — Formel bei Plotin," *Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum*, LXXXVIII (1933), 30-41.

25 vi, 9, 11 (trans. McKenna); cf. i, 6, 7. On the whole question of Plotinus' relation to the Egyptian mysteries, see the articles of Cumont and Peterson already cited, and also J. Cochez, "Plotin et les Mystères d'Isis," *Revue néo-scholastique de Philosophie*, XVIII (1911), 328-40.

the worship of the native Egyptian monks who came from humble stations in life.

Those who could read and understand the subtleties of theology and who sought out the spiritual meaning underneath the letter of Scripture were hardly so naïve. Many of them were Greeks and not native to Egypt, as Evagrius Ponticus. These recalled with approval the answer of Origen, when queried by Celsus as to why Christians spurned images of God, because they did not believe him to have human form and at the same time held that man was made in the image of God. Origen said that the image was not man's body, but that man's resemblance to God was "in the rational soul, made according to virtue."²⁶

The heresy seems to have continued for some time in Egypt, as is evident from the fact that Cyril was constrained to write a treatise against it to the monks of Mount Calamon. He said: "Those who are of sound mind, and implant the eye of their own minds strongly upon considerations of the ineffable divinity, see it beyond every created thing, surpassing the most acute mind, and being absolutely beyond corporeal fantasy, and according to the saying of the all wise Paul 'dwelling in inapproachable light.'"²⁷

26 *C. Cels.*, vii, 66.

27 *Adversus Anthropomorphitas*, 1 (P. G., LXXVI, 1077).

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CHURCH THROUGH THE CENTURIES

By CYRIL CHARLES RICHARDSON. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938. x, 255 pages. \$2.50.

Professor Richardson's interesting and timely purpose is to set forth "the concept of the Church" as it has appeared in various forms in Christian history, describing the environments in which these forms have been assumed. His plan includes matters not only of idea and theory, but also of practice, i. e. of organization, teaching, worship, discipline, moral accomplishment. Each of his main divisions, which are the early centuries, the Middle Ages, the Reformation and the modern period, is entitled "The Church in the Life and Thought of. . ." The purpose has been carried out with fair-mindedness, breadth of sympathy and insight, with firm grasp of essentials on the whole, and with skilful use of illustrative material, quotations, incidents and portions of biography. The result is a rather unique and a useful book, the more useful because it is written under a vivid realization of the new oppositions confronting the Christian church. The obvious problem of such a plan as the author's is to hold to the main line and keep from writing just another short general history of Christianity. Sometimes here the historical movement with regard to the church is obscured by factual detail and by matter which is not strictly relevant to the chief purpose, for example the long accounts of Servetus and of the Anabaptists in Münster. But for the most part this is avoided, and the brief "conclusion" states the outline sharply.

Many points provoke comment. The communal quality of primitive Christianity and the primary importance of the church are effectively presented; "the whole emphasis of the early Christians was upon the divine source and the corporate nature of the Christian faith." The early church, it is said, conceived as its chief function "witnessing to the gospel of Jesus Christ and renewing the divine life, by worship and service in the Christian brotherhood." The purpose of the book would seem to require a fuller discussion than is given of the word "catholic" and the associated thought, and also a clearer explanation of the formation of the catholic church in the second century. The amount of non-catholic Christianity in these times is not appreciated; Montanism is described, but there is no reference to Gnosticism. This part of the history is rather "oversimplified."

Augustine's thought about the church and about church and state is justly and clearly expounded, and its significance for later history is well explained. The treatment of the medieval church in western

Europe calls for praise. The form which the church took, the exercise of its authority and its place in society are effectively rendered. The treatment of the sects and a good chapter on "The Roots of the Reformation" complete the picture. The emphasis on the corporate Christian sense of early Protestantism, on its exaltation of the church, is valuable. Beginning with the Reformation particulars open to criticism are somewhat more frequent than earlier. The author's impartiality appears to fail him respecting Calvin. The discussion of Calvin and capitalism, in the Weberian tradition, does not show the effect of recent study in this field. To say that under Calvin's influence "the typical ideal for the Christian life became the successful business man" is hardly just. This side of Calvin's teaching, the relation of which to the concept of the church is not direct, receives more attention than his general thought of the church and his determinative ideas of ecclesiastical organization. There seems to be confusion regarding the English Independents and the Separatists. Certainly by no means all of the former held that "the Church of England could not be called a true church." Does "Out of the Anabaptist movement sprang the Baptists" cover the ground? In this anniversary year Wesley's words about the Aldersgate Street experience ought not to appear as "I felt strangely warmed." While there are such faults in detail in the thorny field of modern church history, Professor Richardson's cordial appreciation of the many forms of the church in this time and his balanced judgment are constantly helpful.

There is a clear statement on the subject of "sect and church." But in view again of the main purpose, a more extended discussion would be welcome. Related to this is an opinion of the author's to which he has every right, but which may arouse question. Of "the denomination" it is said that it is "neither a sect nor a church in the strict sense of these words." There are great American denominations which regard themselves in their corporate lives as churches and use concerning themselves the word "church" and are taken and accepted to be churches, as in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. What is "the strict sense" in which these bodies are not churches?

The section on American Protestantism well describes the forces which have produced in this country a distinctive way of thinking about the church. The book ends with a brief but instructive account of achievements in Christian union and of the ecumenical movement among the churches.

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Robert Hastings Nichols.

CHRISTIANITY, CAPITALISM, AND COMMUNISM

By ALBERT HYMA. Ann Arbor, Mich.: published by the author, 1937. 303 pages. \$2.75.

This is an astonishing book. Its intention, as revealed in the last chapter, is nothing less than grotesque; and yet the greater part of the

book is an exceedingly valuable contribution to the current discussion concerning the historical relations between the various forms of Christianity and capitalism. The author devotes most of the book to the task of proving that Calvinism is not responsible for the development of the spirit of capitalism. In his last chapter he uses the results of his study to buttress a tirade against sit-down strikes, President Roosevelt, John L. Lewis, Communists, and the Loyalists in Spain. From the point of view of the usefulness of the book this combination of interests is unfortunate, for one would hardly expect to find illumination concerning the history of the Christian religion in a volume which in its conclusion suggests the books which have been sent out with the compliments of the American Liberty League. The author would be well advised to find some way of freeing the important material in the main body of this volume from the propagandist framework.

In order to suggest the real value of the book, I shall summarize a few of the more distinctive historical conclusions. The author seeks to disprove the thesis of Weber that Calvinism was a principal factor in the development of the spirit of capitalism. He follows such writers as H. M. Robertson and Fanfani at this point. But he also goes on to maintain the position that Calvinistic religion in itself was hostile to capitalism. He emphasizes the external causes of the development of capitalism and marshals a great deal of evidence to show that even as late as the seventeenth century the essential Calvinistic attitude was unfavorable to large accumulations of wealth. His one concession to Weber is that he is right in calling attention to the "repeated references to the duty of hard work and saving" in the literature of Calvinism. He undertakes to show from the history of Scotland and also from the history of the Netherlands that where Calvinism went, in some measure industry and trade relatively declined. He regards Tawney as much fairer than either Weber or Troeltsch but as still one-sided in his account of seventeenth century Puritanism. Of special interest is the way in which Professor Hyma deals with Luther and Calvin. His conclusion is that there is no essential difference between the two great reformers in their economic outlook. Both sanctioned interest under certain conditions and both laid down rigid restrictions within which any lending of money at interest was permissible. Professor Hyma, in this well documented study based upon Dutch, British, and American sources as well as upon the writings of Luther and Calvin, has carried further the work of Weber's critics in undermining easy generalizations concerning any relationships between Christianity and capitalism in the past; but the last chapter of his book furnishes evidence which can be quoted by subsequent historians to show that whatever may have been true in the seventeenth century, in the twentieth century a type of Calvinism could endorse most uncritically the institutions of advanced capitalism.

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John C. Bennett.

ST. BENEDICT

By DOM JUSTIN McCANN. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937. vi, 301 pages. \$2.75.

The true spirit of Benedictine learning, to which the placid atmosphere of garth and ambulatory contributes a quality of steadiness and poise, seems reflected in this attractive book about the father of Western monasticism. The nature of the sources for Benedict's life makes it virtually impossible to add biographical data to those already known. The chief source, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, is the subject of some penetrating remarks in the preface. The work was written to show that Italy "had produced saints, and that these saints had produced many miracles," and not to supply a detailed account of events. Dom McCann, in the early chapters of the book, justifies his disavowal of "unreasoning prejudice against miracles," by quoting miracle-filled passages from Gregory. Yet he uses these passages, not in the spirit of the author as edifying proofs of supernatural power, but to illustrate the labors and methods of the saint, to which they also bear testimony.

In Chapters VII to XI our author presents well considered interpretations of some of the main principles of Benedict's Rule. He treats these matters with independence, and sometimes expresses courteous opposition to other distinguished Benedictine authorities on the venerable foundation document of their order. Abbot Chapman's *St. Benedict and the Sixth Century* earlier drew attention to the variety of opinion among Benedictine scholars as to what the founder meant to say; and the impression is deepened by the present work. Chapter X, for example, is devoted to an attempt to solve the difficulty presented by the words in Chapter LVIII of the Rule, "*promittat de . . . conversatione morum suorum*." As is well known, "*conversatione*" was read and copied as "*conversione*" through long centuries, and the Benedictine vow reads "*conversionem morum meorum*." But "*conversatione*" was undoubtedly the original word: what did Benedict mean by it? Our author presents a careful study of "*conversatio*" in texts of Benedict's time, especially in the *Life of St. Pachomius* as translated by Dionysius Exiguus, and of Benedict's own use of it in the eight other cases in which he employs it in the Rule. He offers various renderings of the word, but attempts to establish the fundamental meaning of "self-discipline." As applied within monasticism this amounts to about the same thing as Abbot Chapman's "monasticity of behaviour" for "*conversatio morum*," though that sufficiently lucid and forthright, if not elegant, expression fails to satisfy Dom McCann. The result of this analysis is, at least in the opinion of the present reviewer, a valuable illumination but not a final solution of the problem. It is recognized that in a few sixth century contexts "*conversatio*" meant simply "*conversio*." Let the reader, after perusing this chapter, go back over the passages from the Rule, asking himself in each case whether this equivalence is not possible, and I think that, with reservation in one or two cases only, he will conclude that it is. Perhaps, after all most scholars will come to agree with Dom Linden-

bauer who rendered "*conversatio morum*" "*Bekehrung der Sitten*," "conversion of manners," and the traditional Benedictine vow will be held to be in accord with Benedict's meaning.

The date of Benedict's death is placed at 547 "or soon after," on the basis of a study by Ph. Schmitz, and Chapman's more recent and somewhat impressive argument for a date near the middle of the 'fifties is dismissed with a footnote mention. A real service is rendered by the author in his examination of the sources for the translation of Benedict's relics from Monte Cassino to Fleury. The evidence for the translation is convincing. This act of pious vandalism in the seventh century was matched by the pious fraud of two Casinese monks of the twelfth century who claimed, with evidence from miracles, that the relics still rested in their first burial place.

The surprising statement (p. 160) that Protestant historians identify monachism with asceticism is almost the only evidence of hasty judgment in this thoughtful book. In a footnote (p. 118) Dom McCann promises an English translation of the Rule in which the latest textual emendations are to be utilized.

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John T. McNeill.

SOCIAL IDEALS OF ST. FRANCIS

By JAMES MEYER, O. F. M. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1938. 128 pages. Cloth, \$1.25. Paper, \$0.60.

This work is not, as might be supposed, a scholarly reëxamination from the sources of the nature and extent of Francis' social ideals. It is a plan of social action for modern Tertiaries recommended by the "Fourth Quinquennial Congress of the Third Order of Saint Francis in the United States, held at Louisville on October 6, 7, and 8, 1936." The work is more than a convention report. It is a series of considerations, often vital, of Franciscan social implications for the uncloistered followers of the *Poverello*. The presuppositions and preconceptions which here govern the interpretation of Francis' message for society are those of sincere propagandists for Roman Catholic institutionalism.

The language of the book seems at times a commitment to reactionary individualism religiously motivated. However, the genuinely social character of the Little Poor Man finds expression in much of the program here laid down. The socializing powers of Francis' churchly devotion are considered applicable to the critical needs of our own age. His way of life, interpreted and mediated by Holy Mother Church, proclaims a new dignity of man, a reassessment of wealth, and the capitalization of all resources for human betterment found in Sovereign Deity. His modern brethren of the Third Order declare the duty of religion not only to pronounce judgment upon a faulty economy, but also to give a religious key to social salvation.

In this hardy plan, social justice is staunchly preferred to such phil-

anthropy and charity as are fostered by economic exploitation. What Tertiariism means for the followers of true Poverty and what enriching sacrifices it demands of them are lucidly set forth. The book closes with a program of action related specifically to Mother Church, Brother Man, Tertiary Economics, and the Family. Here is a shining road for those who would lead the essential life of Francis, not in the cloister but in the busy ways of the world.

Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Ray C. Petry.

MEDIEVAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS

IN HONOR OF JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

Edited by J. L. CATE and E. N. ANDERSON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, c. 1938. x, 499 pages. \$4.50.

The laudable European custom of honoring an eminent teacher by publishing a *Festschrift* has found favor in the eyes of the American academic world. The volume under consideration was prepared in honor of the leading American medievalist, Professor James Westfall Thompson, formerly of the University of Chicago, now of the University of California.

The chief danger of such an undertaking usually is that the work lacks unity, unless the essays be very carefully planned with the view to avoid atomism. But according to the editor, no attempt was made in the present instance to secure unity. Consequently, the work pretends to being no more than a collection of miscellaneous essays, of widely varying length and merit, arranged not in a chronological order, but alphabetically by contributors. The decision of the editors not to group the essays around some central unifying theme must be regretted. Disconnectedness and atomism cannot be regarded as a virtue.

Since no common theme has been followed in the book, it is extremely difficult to summarize it in a brief, general fashion. In order to do full justice to it, it would be necessary to treat each essay separately. Such an extended treatment is impracticable. Consequently, only the essays of special interest to church historians will be given consideration.

The work begins with an excellent study from the pen of Conrad Bergendoff, dealing with "St. Birgitta of Sweden." This competent treatment of the saint's life and work is a valuable contribution to the subject. The next short essay, "The Beginning of the Struggle between the Regular and the Secular Clergy," written by Helen Robbins Bittermann, is less satisfactory. In reality, the author deals almost altogether with the relations of secular clergy with monks, and not of the secular versus the regular clergy. The article reflects something of the unsympathetic attitude often exhibited by Professor Thompson toward the subject of the church and its influence.

Among the most valuable contributions in the work is the essay by John T. McNeill, on "The Emergence of Conciliarism." The author

traces the beginnings of the conciliar theory to the reaction called forth by the extravagant claims to papal supremacy made by Boniface VIII. He sets forth convincing reasons why John of Paris and William Durand of Mende should be considered the originators of the movement, rather than Marsiglio of Padua, Michael of Cesena, and William of Ockham.

In the second part of the book, which is devoted to historiographical essays, among the most notable is Eugene N. Anderson's "Meinecke's *Ideengeschichte* and the Crisis in Historical Thinking." In conscious revolt against the materialistic interpretation of history, Meinecke, although accepting the influence of economics upon human motivation, stresses the spiritual-ethical causes. Accordingly, "theology and the arts, philosophy and pure science, take their places in order at the top of the cultural subjects." This is good news to the historian of Christianity.

Also exceedingly informing is the essay on "Kautsky and the Materialist Interpretation of History," contributed by S. K. Padover. It describes the schism within the Marxian camp, in which Kautsky stood for "democratic" socialism against Lenin who defended "terroristic" communism. The latter, of course, won the field in practice. The last essay in the book, "The Varangians in Russian History," could with equal propriety have been placed among the essays in the first part of the book. It is a very able survey of the various theories held by historians over a long period of time in regard to the racial origins of the "Varangians," who played the chief part in the founding of the Russian state.

It must be repeated once more that there is no intention on the part of the reviewer to imply that the essays not specifically mentioned were omitted because of lack of merit. The sole reason for omission was the fact that some of the essays are of less importance to the church historian than others.

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Matthew Spinka.

DAVID JORIS, WIEDERTÄUFER UND KÄMPFER FÜR TOLERANZ IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT

By ROLAND H. BAINTON. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*. Ergänzungsband VI. Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1937. 229 pages. M. 9.

It is difficult to find a stranger figure in church history than that of David Joris (1501-1556), a Flemish glass-painter who was first (1524-1528) an enthusiastic Lutheran, then a follower of Melchior Hofmann (1530-1536), later the leader of an independent sect related to the radical Anabaptists (1537-1556), who spent the last twelve years of his life as a wealthy "nobleman" living in ease and luxury in Basel under an assumed name and character, while his own followers were suffering bitter persecution in various parts of Holland and Northern Germany. David Joris has suffered the universal condemnation of history not only for his duplicity during the Basel period, but also on charges of heresy

and immorality. Like most of the "heretics" of the Reformation period, he was the victim of bitter prejudice and misrepresentation by his enemies, and later historians did not take the pains to go to the sources for a proper evaluation of the man, as Professor Bainton has at long last done. He has not only given Joris a fair and impartial treatment, but also has achieved an analysis of the personality and theology of the man marked by clear insight and sound interpretation, an analysis which goes far toward solving the riddle of David Joris and presents us with a picture of him as a personality which is not only understandable but at times almost forgivable.

According to Bainton, Joris was not an original thinker and made no original contribution, since his theology was a combination of mystical and Anabaptist elements. He did have a strong sense of prophetic inspiration which at times cannot be distinguished from fanaticism, and he claimed to have visions and immediate revelations from heaven. But, on the whole, his views as presented in this study seem to be reasonable. They are to be understood as a logical development of the mystical and "spiritual" elements to be found in such independent thinkers as Sebastian Franck. The list of men who contributed to the development of Joris' thinking, according to Bainton, should include Joachim of Fiore, Thomas Müntzer, Hans Denck, Sebastian Franck, Bernard Rothman, and Melchior Hofmann. For all of these the proof adduced is adequate except for Thomas Müntzer. In this case, Bainton depends upon similarity of ideas but does not show any historical connection. I am inclined to think that Müntzer's influence has been overrated by most historians of the Reformation period, and that in the case of Joris all his ideas can be accounted for in other sources. It is clear that Sebastian Franck and Melchior Hofmann are the chief springs from which Joris drank. There can be no doubt about Bainton's conclusion that Joris was, like Franck, essentially a man of the "inner word," a "Spiritist," one to whom outward forms and ceremonies and institutions as well as the "letter" of the Scripture were a matter of indifference. And perhaps in David Joris, more than in any character of his time, is demonstrated with tragic clearness the great danger of this characteristic position of "inwardness," namely that one ultimately withdraws from all outward witness and responsibility and becomes willing to assume any outward form (true or false) and sign any "outward" creed, as did Joris by signing the Basel Reformed confession which condemned many of the very ideas which he professed to hold. It is difficult in the last analysis to distinguish such "inwardness" from pure cowardice and the urge to self-preservation, particularly when one thinks of Luther, Calvin, John Knox, or Menno Simons.

It is worth noting in passing that David Joris also held advanced views of religious toleration of a sort which permit him to be ranked with Servetus, Castellio, and Ochino as representatives of religious liberty in the time of Calvin. Professor Bainton's forthcoming book on this quartet of thinkers will be eagerly awaited.

Since Joris arose out of the circles of the Dutch Anabaptists, having been ordained as an elder by Obbe Philips, the man who ordained Menno

Simons, the first part of Professor Bainton's study devotes considerable attention to the early phases of the Anabaptist movement. On the whole, the treatment is accurate and enlightening. However, a few questions might be raised. At the very outset one must question the conception of "Anabaptism" as a rigidly defined "movement," all of whose phases and aspects, as well as personalities and divisions from the Zwickau prophets to Menno Simon are historically and causally connected. It now seems to be proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Thomas Muntzer was not the "*Urheber*" of Anabaptism, in spite of Heinrich Boehmer (p. 10), who is a good Lutheran, but a poor Anabaptist, historian. It could not be otherwise, if, as Bainton rightly asserts, "Anabaptism had its origin in Zurich, independent of Muntzer." In fact Muntzer was in no sense of the word an "Anabaptist." I should even question whether David Joris was an Anabaptist after 1538, any more than Sebastian Franck was. As Bainton himself says (p. 58), Joris did not practice adult baptism, nor did he forbid infant baptism, and he did not agree with the Anabaptists on the oath or the magistracy. The original Anabaptists in Zurich did not "claim the authority of the Spirit," and were strict Biblicists as was Menno Simons. They were no self-appointed prophets claiming revelations as did Joris. (After all, what does it take to be an Anabaptist?) It is also somewhat misleading to describe the evolution of Anabaptism as to a large extent a recapitulation of the evolution of Thomas Muntzer, first in forward then in reverse movement (p. 10). It cannot be said that original Swiss Anabaptism evolved from its sober original character into an eschatological phase characterised by Hut, Melchior Hofmann, and finally by the M \ddot{u} nsterites. The Swiss Anabaptists never had an eschatological phase, and they never followed Melchior Hofmann, never recognized him as an Anabaptist. It is doubtful that the Strassburg visionaries and prophets, Leonard Jobst and his wife Ursula, and the prophetess Barbara, should be reckoned as true Anabaptists. It is also doubtful that the "*Nacktläufer*" of Amsterdam were Anabaptists (p. 28). It is difficult to believe that there were Anabaptists in Holland in 1528, before Melchior Hofmann's movement. The "other group" of Anabaptists, in contrast to the M \ddot{u} nsterite fanatics (page 24), never accepted the M \ddot{u} nsterite chiliasm, polygamy, and revolution, and so they never had to renounce it. Obbe Philips fought these tendencies when they first appeared in 1533, and broke at once with the Melchiorites when they came under the influence of Jan Matthys. Menno Simons attacked the M \ddot{u} nsterite abomination when he was still a Catholic; accordingly he never had to renounce it.

Whether the comparison between the views of Joris and the Wittenberg and Strassburg theologians on the matter of polygamy (p. 68), in which Joris comes off better than Luther and Melanchthon, is altogether defensible, is also open to question. It may be true that in theory Joris' "*Verurteilung der Polygamie ist sicherlich weit uneingeschränkter*," but in actual effect there was a wide difference. Luther and Melanchthon certainly never intended to permit polygamy except in the case of a "*Notfall*." According to Joris, anyone could practice polygamy, provided he got a special revelation from God thereto, and he was answer-

able therefor only to his own conscience. One has only to read Luther's violent condemnation of polygamy elsewhere to be convinced of the wide difference between him and Joris on this point.

Approximately half of the book is given over to a publication *in extenso* of numerous important documents from the archives of Zurich and Basel, which relate to the posthumous trial of David Joris, all from the years 1558-1561.

Two significant typographical errors were noted. On page 13 in a quotation from Franck's *Paradoxa*, Franck is made to say that the church is a "*geistlicher und sichtbarer Leib aller Glieder Christi*"; the original has "*unsichtbarer*." On page 24 "Bucholt" should be "Bocholt." On pages 38 and 39 "*verhiessene*" is used instead of "*verheissene*," and similarly at another place "*gehiessen*" is used instead of "*geheissen*." The translation into the German of the author's original English text is well done.

Professor Bainton has written the authoritative biography and interpretation of Joris, and he has done much to soften the judgment of history on this strange personality, but one nevertheless lays down the book with the sense of having taken a journey into a strange country, and conversed with a dubious character. David Joris is still uniquely David Joris.

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Harold S. Bender.

DER FRANZÖSISCHEN PROTESTANTISMUS SEIN WEG BIS ZUR FRANZÖSISCHEN REVOLUTION

By JOSEPH CHAMBON. Munich: Kaiser Verlag. 210 pages. M. 5.

If church history will make any contribution to the unity of Christendom, Joseph Chambon's book must not be taken as a model. It is an *oratio pro domo* by a vehement Protestant. Written in an unrelieved high key, the conflict between French Protestants and Catholics is described as one between Christ and Satan. At times the author borrows from the *Schimpflexikon*.

The portraits of the Huguenots are not exclusively those of saints, however, and Dr. Chambon concedes this freely. Equally just is he in characterizing some of the Catholic orders and popes.

Nevertheless, the book leaves one with the feeling that one has not gained in an understanding of the conflict. It is described as a war between metaphysical forces acting through good and bad and indifferent agents. Not a word of appreciation for the *Kultur* of the Roman Church, not a sentence to illumine the economic basis of the struggle. The development of French absolutism is viewed as that of a successful "racket" rather than an alternative to a dreaded anarchy. Besides, there is too much martyrology.

There are no footnotes, no index, and the bibliography is almost entirely Protestant.

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Quirinus Breen.

LETTERS OF JOHN DAVENPORT, PURITAN DIVINE

Edited by ISABEL MACBEATH CALDER. New Haven: Published for the First Church of Christ in New Haven by Yale University Press, 1937. xi, 301 pages. \$3.00.

The First Church of Christ in New Haven deserves high praise for this fitting "Tercentenary Publication" of the *Letters of John Davenport*, the church's first and perhaps its greatest minister. As the editor states in her "Preface," the hundred and more letters of John Davenport still extant have become widely scattered, and though many of them have been published before, they have been printed in a large variety of publications. Brought together in this volume, "they disclose not only the evolution of the mind of an outstanding seventeenth-century New England Puritan, but the conditions under which life in the smallest of the New England Puritan colonies was lived." Moreover, as Miss Calder might have added, the letters supply useful information about ecclesiastical events in England in the 1620's and also about the tangled state of affairs among English Puritan refugees in Holland in the 1630's.

Every effort has been made to include all the letters known to have been produced by John Davenport's pen, and it appears very unlikely that any have been overlooked. The letters are handsomely printed in splendid page format, arranged chronologically, and edited with numerous footnotes to identify all persons identifiable and to explain situations and allusions. In fact, the emendations and explanations, though learned and carefully done, are more numerous than appears necessary. Has the reading public—especially that portion of it which will read and use this book—become so ignorant that editors must supply translations of such Latin expressions as *cui bono?* (p. 265).

These errors of commission are curiously balanced by the brevity and total lack of documentation of the "Biographical Sketch" of John Davenport which serves as an introduction to the letters. If the editor argued that a long treatment of Davenport's life, in view of existing accounts, was unnecessary and out of place in this edition of his letters, the length and the absence of documentation are justifiable. But if the editor intended the "Biographical Sketch" to furnish an adequate setting for the letters, which follow without further introductions, the sketch is ill-adapted to its purpose and may prove misleading to the reader. For example, the nature of many of Davenport's early associates and correspondents and his relations with them indicate that it was much more than mere "Residence within a stone's throw of Guildhall" that "aroused his interest in the great trading companies of the day . . ." (p. 3). Moreover, an accurate analysis of Non-separating Congregationalists' theory and casuistry indicates that Davenport was a hearty Puritan of this type in 1624 when he became vicar of St. Stephen's in Coleman Street, despite his carefully worded protestations of conformity to Sir Edward Conway. Several Puritan ministers of this persuasion, confronted with charges of non-conformity and the danger of losing their living, professed strict conformity in just such weasel words. And,

lastly, if the editor had analysed more thoroughly the letters and papers of Sir William Boswell (*Additional Manuscripts*, 6394 in the British Museum), she would have given more accurate setting to Davenport's brief Dutch career and corrected several errors of fact borrowed from Steven's *History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*.

The University of Illinois.

Raymond Phineas Stearns.

THE LIFE STORY OF REV. FRANCIS MAKEMIE

By I. MARSHALL PAGE. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1938. 258 pages. \$2.50.

Francis Makemie's achievements testify to his varied and distinguished abilities and noble character. He was an evangelist who produced enduring churches, a far-seeing resourceful ecclesiastical leader, foremost in the organization of American Presbyterianism, a bold champion of religious liberty, a successful and trusted man of business. But in more than two hundred years a clear picture of his personality has not been rendered and many questions about him and his career have gone unanswered. Mr. Page has studied enthusiastically the history of the churches east of Chesapeake Bay with whose early days Makemie's name is associated, as he showed in his *Old Buckingham by the Sea on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (1936). Further search in preparation for this biography unearthed some new documents relating to Makemie, but nothing very significant. Mr. Page investigated sites carefully, thereby illuminating some of the documentary evidence. Thus his additions to our knowledge of Makemie, while interesting, are not extensive. He does not present new information about the most important features of Makemie's life, which are still far from clear. Regarding his precise connection with the founding of the Maryland churches, Rehoboth and the others, he is vague and refers to his *Old Buckingham*, which contains nothing more definite. As to Makemie's part in the formation of the first presbytery he says only what is familiar. For the facts of Makemie's trial in New York, an affair of great significance for religious liberty, he refers to Hill's *History of . . . American Presbyterianism*, published in 1839. Hence he leaves the big questions unanswered. His book does contain a valuable amount of sources—all the letters of Makemie, numerous civil and ecclesiastical records relating to him, not always handled exactly, and in the appendix many documents from the Accomack County (Virginia) Court witnessing to transactions in which he was involved. These things have been printed in various places before, but nowhere else has so much original material for the biography of Makemie been assembled.

It is regrettable that Mr. Page has not made the best use of his material. The reader does not receive a clear and solid account of Makemie's actions and movements. This results largely from Mr. Page's free use of imagination. He gives many accounts of incidents and conversations—for example Makemie's courtship and things which he said

and did during his visit to England and Scotland in 1704—which are fashioned out of whole cloth, supported only by “it is quite likely” and “may we picture.” Furthermore the subject is obscured by conventional pious ministerial sentiment; it seems clear that Makemie was not that kind of man at all. Mr. Page differs in some important matters of fact and in some features of the general conception of Makemie’s character from Dr. E. T. Thompson’s careful article in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, which he does not mention. He does not use some revealing documents which he prints and misinterprets others. Therefore we still lack a lifelike portrait of the man. It is unfortunate that Mr. Page’s good intentions and industry have not come to a better result.

Auburn Theological Seminary.

Robert Hastings Nichols.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN AMERICA: PAST — PRESENT — AND PROSPECTIVE

By ANDREW C. ZENOS. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937.
216 pages. \$1.50.

This small book measures up to its ambitious title in a surprisingly satisfying way. “The object of this work,” declares the author in his Foreword, “is not to impart information, but to inquire into the meaning of well known facts. . . . Presbyterianism has existed and functioned in the world for generations. Why is it here? What account does it give of itself? What right has it to continue? Is it a distinct religion? Is it a schism among schisms? Is it the one and only system that all men should recognize as true? These questions separately and together have claimed attention and received answers before. . . . Can one logical and consistent exposition of Presbyterianism be given? The contention is that such an exposition is possible. At all events, it is here attempted.” The author may congratulate himself on the success of his attempt. A gift for compact and concise expression, an excellent sense of balance, and steadfast adherence to a single objective, have enabled Dr. Zenos to produce a remarkably adequate outline of Presbyterianism in America.

Following essays on “The Essentials of Presbyterianism,” and “Presbyterianism in History,” come four chapters narrating the chronological development of Presbyterianism in America, and four more dealing with “Presbyterianism and Catholicity,” “Presbyterianism and Doctrine,” “Presbyterianism and Progress,” “The Future of Presbyterianism.” Dr. Zenos states that he anticipates criticism that he is prejudiced in favor of his denomination; actually, it is difficult to believe that an author with such a background could be more objective. The claims for Presbyterianism are respectfully yet modestly stated; its shortcomings in practice are frankly recognized. To the reviewer, perhaps the most interesting feature of the work is its effective exposition of the manner in which Presbyterianism has adapted itself to changing conditions and altered needs; the most attractive feature of the author’s

presentation is his earnest emphasis upon the necessity for alertness in meeting the continuing demands for such adaptability.

Dr. Zenos thinks that his readers will come almost exclusively from American Presbyterians; he modestly estimates that their number will be few. This reviewer trusts that his estimate will prove incorrect. Surely, all American Presbyterians really interested in their denomination will find this a most stimulating exposition of what Presbyterianism is and what it stands for. Moreover, the book deserves a wider public: it can be read with profit by anyone interested in the history and development of organized Christianity in America.

University of Michigan.

L. G. VanderVelde.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MODERN SCOTLAND, 1560-1937

By PETER F. ANSON. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, Limited, 1937. 235 pages. 7s 6d.

This book is written in a lucid, unornate style, its temper is free from acrimony which is something to be thankful for in the treatment of such a subject, and there are twelve charming drawings by the author. Three-fourths of the volume are devoted to biographical sketches of Scottish ecclesiastics, chiefly bishops. These biographies are compiled from the earliest available sources, conflicting dates and statements are unravelled with meticulous care, and the stories are methodical registers of birth-place, education, promotions, and duties performed. There are two chapters on the penal legislation from which the Catholics suffered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the whole, however, the impression made by the reading of this book is that it is conspicuous for what it leaves out rather than for any grip on the vital features of the history. The first chapter is appropriately devoted to the story of the Reformation in Scotland and its results and manages to tell that story without any mention of John Knox, which looks like a triumph of ingenuity. King James VII (better known to us as King James II of England) is mentioned five times, each mention extremely brief and altogether taking up less than half a page. The most generous mention is on page 53 which says: "During the brief reign of James VII Scottish Catholics were at last able to enjoy peace, at least from official persecution." Now James VII was the only Catholic king Scotland has had since the Reformation; he was a devoted son of the church, who did not scruple to defy the laws of the land in order to favor and promote Catholics. Indeed it was this favoritism and his attempt to make the country Catholic that helped to drive him from his throne. This book fails altogether to do him justice. It nowhere acknowledges that he was a Catholic, it offers no details of his services to the church and it has not a word of gratitude for him.

There is another, more serious, case of omission. It is well known that some of the glens in the West Highlands, in Argyllshire, were un-

touched by the Reformation and their inhabitants continued to be adherents of the old church and are so still. There were also little knots of people in the North-east, in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, of whom the same was true. The author knows about these groups, because he includes them in his statistics, he has dots in the proper places on his map to indicate their location, he has plenty of stories about the priests who in secret or at risk of their safety visited them occasionally, but he has scarcely a word about the people themselves, except to tell of their ignorance. The prime fault of this book is that there is not a glowing chapter appreciating the heroism and steadfastness of these poor crofters, who without continuous supervision or encouragement from their church kept their faith for two hundred and fifty years in the midst of an overwhelming population of Presbyterians, the most vehement opponents of the church of Rome.

However useful these biographies of Scottish church leaders may be, this book calling itself "The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland" is a disappointment.

Manitoba College, Winnipeg, Canada.

Andrew B. Baird.

THE CHURCH FOUNDERS OF THE NORTHWEST LORAS AND CRETIN AND OTHER CAPTAINS OF CHRIST

By M. M. HOFFMANN. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1937. 379 pages. \$3.00.

Father Hoffman of Columbia College, Dubuque, is doing diligent work as church historian of his diocese. He has written a volume entitled *Antique Dubuque: 1673-1833*, another, *The History of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, 1837-1937* and now the present volume which forms a fitting conclusion to the centennial celebration of the diocese of Dubuque.

While of special interest to those of the Catholic faith, no one who appreciates the remarkable developments in the Mississippi valley during the past hundred years can be indifferent to it.

It is an epic of faithful and heroic service under rigorous pioneer conditions which is presented in this story of the life and labors of the Right Reverend Mathias Loras, D.D., first bishop of Dubuque, and the Right Reverend Joseph Cretin, D.D., first bishop of Minnesota. Loras came from a rich French background, from a family of loyal patriots and faithful churchmen, many of whom had suffered for their faith and their patriotism. Ancient Lyons was his home. He brought to the new world a fine educational equipment and considerable practical experience. Joseph Cretin represented the well-to-do bourgeoisie, and had been vicar and pastor at Ferney, "practically in the shadow of the old Calvinistic capital, Geneva." Both of these men were afire for the great missionary task they felt themselves called to perform in the conversion of the savage Indians and the winning

of the "poor unfortunate heretics," and they were ready to sacrifice the "very last drop" of their blood for the cause. This all the more, as Father Loras had heard that "the Protestants of these countries are very obstinate and filled with terrible prejudice against the Church of Rome." However, the new missionary did not seem to have encountered such "terrible prejudice," for he could write to his mother in Lyons that when he preached his first English sermon (in Alabama), he preached in a Protestant church, in the presence of two ministers. While rector of the cathedral in Moline, Alabama, Father Loras had quietly fallen in line with the prevailing social practice of slavery. He became a slave-owner himself, but seems to have sought to divest himself of this human property as soon as practicable and eventually sold his female slave, Marie Louise, in 1853, for \$532.50.

Famous personages pass in review in this book; Jean Nicholas Nicollet, Pierre Jean De Smet, Julien Dubuque, Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota, Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, a host of others, all of them pioneers to be remembered. More versatile than most of these, if not as great in influence, was that "gentle-born Milanese, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, . . . saint and scholar, architect and artist, priest of God and gentleman of the frontier world." What a figure on the levee of Galena, or the harbor of Dubuque, or in the untamed wilderness, where his labors were as boundless as his territory. With characteristic American disregard, they used to call him, in Galena and Dubuque, "Father Matthew Kelly."

Frontier conditions were "wild and woolly" in those primitive mining towns. Drinking, gambling, immorality and other vices gave the missionaries grave concern. The streams of German and Irish immigrants which poured in on river steamers from St. Louis and New Orleans, and later on the railroad, not only swelled the numbers of worshipers, but also added their peculiar problems. Indian troubles made things serious, half-breeds and traders caused anxiety. Meanwhile St. Raphael's Church in Dubuque, later the cathedral, had been built in 1839, and at its dedication it was "crowded with Protestants as well as Catholics." This is rather surprising in view of the complaint made by the good bishop some time previously: "The greatest difficulty we apprehend, is from the Protestants, who will redouble their efforts to throw every obstacle in our way." The new church of St. Raphael was not dedicated without relics, for Pope Gregory XVI gave to bishop Loras the body of St. Cessianus, the martyr, which was transported to the shores of the Mississippi, though it was years before the relics of the saint found a worthy shrine.

What an immense field was this diocese of Dubuque! From Detroit it extended across Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, up to North Dakota. The problems of travel and transportation were truly formidable, but the fathers covered distances—in a heroic fashion. One great difficulty was the scarcity of priests, and of the right kind of priests. Another was the language problem—French, German, Irish, they all had

to be reached as best they could, and the priests from the Continent had to master English. Bishop Loras wrote: "The difficulty of the English tongue is disappearing every day. It is touching to see our seven French and one Irish priests to renounce their mother tongue and speak only that which gains souls to Jesus Christ."

In the matter of education and social welfare, Bishop Loras was a great pioneer. Very early he established schools and seminaries, some of which have been transferred to other places or closed; as a result of his labors, Dubuque has become one of the strongest centres of Roman Catholic education and philanthropic service in the United States. He also was active in the matter of temperance reform, and though as a Frenchman he was accustomed to wine, he became a total abstainer.

The fine story of the heroic labors of these servants of the church is marred by a tone of intolerance, not on the part of the author, but on the part of some of the missionaries themselves. Thus in the statistics of the diocese the classification always is: Catholics, Protestants, heretics and infidels, and Indians, or savages. The bishop of St. Paul reports to the Lyons Propagation of the Faith Society in 1857: Catholics, 50,000, heretics, 25,000, infidels, 120,000. Bishop Loras, in the same year, reports for his diocese: Catholics, 54,000, heretics and infidels, 550,000! Of the Presbyterian missionary and Indian teacher, the Rev. David Lowry, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, a very poor account is given. His work among the Winnebagoes on the Turkey River and the Yellow River in northeastern Iowa, is presented as a complete failure. When, for a time, there were no Roman Catholic priests among them, our author says: "The Catholic Winnebagoes were left to the mercies of the Presbyterian proselytizers." And Father Cretin writes to his sister in France: "The Protestants terrorize them (the Winnebagoes), causing discouragement among them." "The inability of the Protestants to civilize these savages (the Winnebagoes) manifests itself more clearly day by day," writes Father Cretin, and gives the impression that the Indians of their own deliberate choice sought the ministrations of the "black gowns." If one had not read the history of Protestant missions, one would gather from these accounts that Protestantism was utterly barren of good missionary fruits.

The far-reaching missionary and educational work in the Mississippi Valley was made possible by very generous donations from Europe. The author mentions large sums as donated by the Propagation of the Faith Society of Lyons and Paris, the Leopoldine Society of Vienna, and the Ludwig Missionsverein of Munich. The results of these generous subsidies in the days of small beginnings are well shown in the strength of Roman Catholicism in these regions today, although the ambition to make Iowa a "Roman Catholic state" has not been realized.

The book is well documented and well indexed.

University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

William C. Laube.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN INDIA

By MARVIN HENRY HARPER. Lucknow, India: The Lucknow Publishing House, 1936. 222 pages. \$1.50.

This volume has to do with missionary policy. The field is the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India. The period covered is from 1856 to 1935. It is based chiefly upon original sources. It makes a study of important problems of present day administration. Of the questions raised and discussed the following twelve are representative:

(1) What are the *motives* actuating the founding of the mission? In 1856 they were "to subvert the empire of Paganism in India and establish in its place the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." (2) What factors should determine the location of a new mission in a non-Christian area? They sought to select a field unoccupied by any other mission, of limited size, of one common language, and to occupy it adequately. These plans were broken down at every point. (3) Could a "church" be organized from the first, obviating the historical tension between "church" and "mission?" Yes! (4) Could a plan be made providing for "devolution" of administration by process rather than by sudden and violent change? Yes! (5) What sort of supervision would be most effective in such a church in India? The Methodists have experimented with at least three different types of bishops. (6) What plans need be made for comity, for co-operation and unity with other missionary groups? Comity and co-operation have been achieved. Organic union moves slowly. (7) What is a proper use of foreign money? How may it be ethically and wisely administered? How may it elicit self-support? (8) What should be done with reference to mass or group movements of Christianity? Should they be discouraged or welcomed? They are seeking a better technique without abandoning the principle. (9) What adaptations to indigenous cultural patterns should be made specially in view of the intense nationalistic feeling in the past score of years? Here the problems of language, of architecture, of music, and of ritual are discussed. (10) How should the rising younger church relate itself to government? To the British, to the rulers of native states, and now to the New Constitution? Sympathy and a co-operative spirit with the new patriots are developing but slowly. (11) What are the true objectives in Christian education? What methods and plans are to be regarded? (12) Should future efforts be directed toward "concentration" or should the expansive habit continue? Both the trend in missionary policy and the compulsion of missionary finance cry out for concentration.

These questions Dr. Harper, who is professor of Church History in an Indian theological college, lays alongside of the experience of a church which now has in India a constituency of 500,000 and a history of eighty years. Final solutions are not found, but the volume is a valuable contribution to the study of the science of missions.

Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

W. D. Schermerhorn.

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION, ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT, VI

By various contributors, under the direction of EDWARD EYRE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. \$7.50.

This is not a book, but a small library. In addition to a general survey of the political history of England from 1648 to 1914, it contains eleven monographs on the various specialized forms of history, such as missions, philosophy, science and historiography. This has the advantage that each "book" is written by an author whose specialization in that subject enables him to speak with authority. However, this very advantage is a disadvantage, because his breadth of knowledge makes it difficult for him to give a brief treatment of his subject, such as he is required to do here. In general, the writers of the different sections of this volume find it difficult to know where to start and where to leave off, so that often they are speaking quite ably *about* something, but they fail to tell the reader *what* it is.

The "Chronicle of Social and Political Events from 1640 to 1914," by Henry M. Leclercq, has an excellent narrative style and much illuminating detail. Like the other authors, he has a decidedly pro-Roman Catholic bias which is shown by the disproportionate amount of space given to the history of the Roman Catholic church.

"Ireland's Place in European Civilization" is described by W. J. Williams in such a way as to exalt Ireland's contributions to European civilization as much as possible, and to underrate those of the rest of Europe in comparison. He is prone to careless generalizations; such as, "The Norman race . . . were able within one year, by one decisive and shattering blow, to achieve the conquest of their less aggressive kinsfolk in England."

The discussion of the "Jews in the European System" is a keen, well-balanced presentation of the Jewish problem on the basis of history. It is one of the best sections of this volume. Mr. Bonsirven notes that few Jews have taken up agriculture, that the large proportion of them are in the propertied middle class, and that their own nationalism makes it difficult for them to live among a society of nations.

Desmond MacCarthy in writing on "The European Tradition in Literature" since 1600 wisely remarks, "It will be seen that such a theme even if treated in the most cursory fashion is far beyond the scope of the short essay, and that all that can be done in such an essay is to put together a few generalizations." Since he sees his problem more clearly than the other contributors, he has solved it somewhat better. He traces the European tradition in literature as distinguished from the various national traditions and finds two European traditions; the classic and the Christian. With a stupendous knowledge of his subject he checks literature by its relation to this double standard.

The discussion of education since the Renaissance by Corcoran is prejudiced and inadequate. The treatment of the "Exegetical Method

of History" by D'Arcy is keen and stimulating, but leaves plenty of room for disagreement. Students of the history of science would find the work of Sir Ambrose Fleming reliable but quite inadequate. For a person acquainted with modern philosophy, Taylor's essay will be found worthy of careful reading. In a section entitled "The Catholic Church and Modern Civilization," E. C. Butler has really given a biographical dictionary of the popes from 1775 to the present. The history of "Non-papal Christianity from 1648," by J. W. C. Wand, is one of the best contributions to the volume, both from the point of view of balance, impartiality, and clearness. However, one cannot but conclude that he would have done better either to have used more space or limited himself to fewer topics. For instance, it would be better to omit all reference to the church in the American colonies than to allow it only one paragraph.

Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

Hastings Eells.

MAKERS OF CHRISTIANITY, III

By WILLIAM W. SWEET. New York: Henry Holt, 1937. 343 pages, \$2.00.

This is the concluding volume in a survey of Christian leadership from Jesus to Lyman Abbott.¹ Rather than a loosely assembled series of biographical sketches, the author presents a scholarly interpretation of the main currents and crises of American Christianity. He depicts with clarity and discernment such problems and issues as the New England theocracy, tolerance and intolerance in colonial days, the revival movements and the schisms that followed, the ideology back of the foreign missionary movement, and the adjustments of religious thought to an ever changing social order. As the book is intended for the lay reader, there is no formal documentation, yet the many references to outstanding monographs and collections of sources are indicative of careful research.

Definite influence on Christian polity is the basis for selecting the thirty-six "*Makers of Christianity*." Thus the founding fathers are not Chaplain Hunt, who ministered to the first Englishmen in America, or Francis Higginson of Massachusetts Bay, but James Blair, who "triumphed over three Virginia governors," and John Cotton, who shaped the destinies of Puritan New England as did "no other single individual in the whole colony." Such outstanding preachers as Phillips Brooks and Henry Ward Beecher give way before the less spectacular but more influential William Ellery Channing and Horace Bushnell.

Before a character is introduced, the movement he is to direct is traced to its origin and subsequent developments depicted. Professor Sweet has surveyed in masterful fashion the beginnings of Quakerism in England, the Scotch-Irish antecedents, and the German motives for migration. The men considered, however, are not mere puppets. Apt

¹ Volume I, *From Jesus to Charlemagne*, by Shirley Jackson Case. Volume II, *From Alfred the Great to Schleiermacher*, by John T. McNeill.

quotations and personal anecdotes give color and vitality. Ancestral influences are carefully analyzed.

The author's thesis is that "the Americanization of Christianity is its frontierization, or the process by which Christianity has accommodated itself to the needs of a people transplanted to a new land and engaged in the task of building a new Christian society" (p 165). It seems strange, then, that of the five leaders of "Christian Thought in the Nineteenth Century" (Chapter VIII), three should come from New England and the other two from New York state. Aside from the pioneer H. M. Mühlenberg, no mention is made of German and Scandinavian groups. There is no leader of modern Catholic thought, or is reference made to clergymen who have aided in building great institutions of mercy.

The selected bibliography, with critical comments, is excellent. This book is more than a study of representative leaders; it is a new and authoritative interpretation of the development of Christianity in America.

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